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THE
POLITICAL STATE
OF *Mr. Feller* 1793.
EUROPE,

FOR THE YEAR M,DCC,XCII.

CONTAINING,

An Authentic and Impartial NARRATIVE of every MILITARY
OPERATION of the present

BELLIGERENT POWERS ;

AND A CORRECT COPY OF EVERY

STATE PAPER, DECLARATION, MANIFESTO, &c.

That has been, and may be issued during the PRESENT WAR
upon the CONTINENT. Likewise, a considerable number of
ORIGINAL PAPERS, FACTS, and other ELUCIDATIONS.

The whole selected from the best Authorities, and collated with an
extensive Correspondence of Gentlemen in respectable Situations.

A

Correct Translation of the DEBATES and PROCEEDINGS of
the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY of FRANCE; upon all Points re-
lative to the WAR and GOVERNMENT, will also be given, from
the best Accounts published at Paris;

TOGETHER WITH

A complete and accurate SURVEY of the POLITICS and CONDUCT of the
NEUTRAL POWERS, at this very critical and interesting Period.

vol. 1st.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. S. JORDAN, NO. 166, FLEET-STREET.

1792.



To the PUBLIC.

THE present political State of the Continent of Europe is critical and interesting ; and claims, in the most peculiar manner, the attention of this country ; and, although we are not engaged as parties, yet we cannot be indifferent spectators of the effects of the new Constitutions of France and Poland. The consequences of these great events menace the tranquility of other powers. Armies have already taken the field, and hostilities have been committed. What further powers may become engaged in these belligerent operations time will soon discover ; but enough has been already seen, to manifest the utility, as well to the present age, as to posterity, of a Work entirely devoted to the politics and measures of the Continent at this period, consisting of an early and periodical collection of every State Paper, Declaration, Memorial, Manifesto, Letter, &c. of all the different Courts, their officers civil and military, which has been, and may be issued, during the progress of the war ; together with the best and most authentic accounts of every military transaction ; the whole stated with the strictest truth and impartiality.

Such a Work can require neither apology nor commendation ; its advantages are obvious and indisputable. The events which will be recorded are of the highest moment. They interest the legislator, the country gentleman, the merchant, the manufacturer, and trader of every description. The attention of all persons cannot fail being excited, in the progress of the present struggle for the establishment and arrangement of power. It is the exclusive design

of this Work to convey, and to preserve every document and narrative, which can assist the enquirer with correct information. Other monthly publications are principally miscellaneous; and their editors cannot, consistent with the design of such works, devote such a portion of their pages to the events of the month, however important they may be; they must content themselves with giving a few of the principal parts only, while the minor articles most commonly furnish the essential points of information, fill up the chasms in the narrative, and prevent obscurity, are totally omitted.

Gentlemen residing in the country, during the approaching recess of parliament, will find this Work particularly useful and convenient, in the preservation of papers and details, which may hereafter become the subjects of discussion: and it may not be improper to observe, that a monthly publication affords an opportunity to correct the hasty ebullitions of the moment, with which the foreign, as well as our own prints, almost daily abound. A monthly publication gives us leisure to discriminate, digest, and select. We therefore presume to assure our Readers, that *The POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE*, will not be less distinguished by its veracity, than by its utility.

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THE
POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE,

FOR THE YEAR MDCCXCII.

F R A N C E.

THE causes and circumstances of the wonderful Revolution, which has happened in this kingdom, have been already detailed in various publications to the end of the year 1791. It is the intention of the Editors of this Work to preserve every interesting Paper of Authority, and impartially to relate every memorable Event of the War from that Period.

On the last day of December 1791, the French King sent the following letter to the National Assembly :

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, brought by a Message, Dec. 31.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I have charged the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to communicate to you the official notice which the Emperor has caused to be delivered to the ambassador from France at Vienna. This notice, I must say, has caused me the greatest astonishment. I had a right to reckon on the sentiments of the Emperor, and of his desire of preserving with France the good intelligence and all the connexions that ought to subsist between two allies. I cannot yet think that his dispositions are changed : I wish to persuade myself that he has been deceived respecting the true state of facts ; that he has supposed that the Elector of

B

Treves

Treves had fulfilled the duties of justice and good neighbourhood; and that, nevertheless, this Prince had cause to fear that his states might be exposed to violences, or particular incurSIONS.

“ In the answer which I have given to the Emperor, I repeat to him, that I have demanded nothing but what is just from the Elector of Treves; and nothing but what the Emperor himself had given an example of. I remind him of the care the French nation took immediately to prevent the assembling of the Brabanters, when they attempted it in the neighbourhood of the Austrian Pays Bas: Finally, I renew to him the wish of France for the preservation of peace; but at the same time I declare, that if after the epoch which I have fixed, the Elector of Treves has not really and effectually dispersed the assemblages which exist in his states, nothing shall prevent me from proposing to the National Assembly, as I have already announced, to employ force of arms to constrain it.

“ If this declaration does not produce the effect which I have a right to hope; if the destiny of France is, to have to fight with her children and her allies, I shall make known to Europe the justness of our cause. The French people will support it by their courage; and the nation will see that I have no interest but her's; and that I shall ever maintain her dignity and her safety, as the most essential of my duties.

(Signed)

(Underneath)

“ LOUIS.

“ DELESSART.”

In the month of January 1792, the Emperor (Leopold II.) transmitted to the French court, the complaints which had been addressed to him by several of the German princes of Alsace and Lorrain, on the abolition of the feudal system on their estates in those provinces.

The French King in his answer, justified this abolition, by saying, that it had been done by the National Assembly.

It is to be observed, that the National Assembly had some months before abolished all jurisdiction, metropolitan and diocesan, exercised by foreign prelates; which fell principally on the archbishops of Mentz and Treves, and on the Bishops of Spire and Bale. These prelates transmitted their complaints also to the Emperor, and the Emperor sent their complaints to the Diet at Ratisbon. The Diet made a *conclusum*, on the subject, which was, That all things, both temporal and spiritual, must be put upon their ancient footing, agreeable to treaties and conventions.

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The Emperor confirmed this *conclusum*, and sent it to the circles of the empire. Upon which the French king addressed the following note to the Emperor :

Louis XVI. *King of the French, to Leopold II. Emperor of Germany.*

“ The French nation does not derive the title to its sovereignty from the archives of the Imperial Chancery ; it is sovereign, because it is free ; it is free, because it chose to be so ; and the object of its choice must be eternal.

“ This idea must extend alike, without discrimination or limit to all its territories—to the whole of the 83 departments. All have concurred to form the national representation—all are integral parts of the French monarchy.

“ These principles will admit of no change or modification. Would the nation have rescued its rights from the hands of domestic tyrants, to surrender them merely to I know not what foreign supremacy ? The French acknowledge no supremacy but their own.

“ When the National Assembly consented to indemnify certain German princes, it consulted its own generosity, rather than the claims of justice. It is time to extirpate these last remains of the feudal system. From this period it will grant no immunities or favours, which strangers, having property or residence in France, enjoy in common.

“ Have you not seen, that the faith of Frenchmen, with respect to treaties, is by the new constitution placed beyond the power of change ? Kings may sometimes have failed in their engagements ; but the monarchy of a free people never will follow the example, nor will the people suffer him. The surest pledge of the good faith of governments, is the liberty of the people.”

The National Assembly at this time ordered the following Manifesto to be delivered by their ambassadors, to all the courts in Europe.

“ At a moment when, for the first time since the epoch of their liberty, the French people may see themselves reduced to the necessity of exercising the terrible right of war, their representatives owe to Europe, to all mankind, an account of the motives which have guided their resolutions, and an exposition of the principles which direct their conduct. *The French nation renounces the undertaking of the war with the view of making conquests, and will never employ her forces against the liberty of any state.* Such is the text of their constitution ; such is the sacred vow upon which they have connected their own happiness

ness with the happiness of every other people, and they will be faithful to them.

“ But who can consider that a friendly territory in which exists an army waiting only the prospect of success for the moment of attack ?

“ Is it not equivalent to a declaration of war, to give places of strength not only to enemies who have already declared, but to conspirators, who have long since commenced it ? Every thing, therefore, imposes upon the powers established by the constitution for maintaining the peace and the safety of the public, the imperious law of employing force against rebels, who, from the bosom of a foreign land, threaten to tear their country in pieces.

“ The right of nations violated—the dignity of the French people insulted—the criminal abuse of the King’s name employed by impostors to veil their disastrous projects—their distrust kept up by sinister rumours through the whole empire—the obstacles occasioned by this distrust to the execution of the laws, and the re-establishment of credit—the means of corruption exerted to delude and seduce the citizens—the disquiets which agitate the inhabitants of the frontiers—the evils to which attempts the most vain and the most speedily repulsed may expose them ;—the outrages, always unpunished, which they have experienced on the territories where the revolted French find an asylum—the necessity of not allowing the rebels time to complete their preparations, or raise up more dangerous against their country—such are our motives. Never did more just or more urgent exist. And in the picture which we have drawn, we have rather softened than over-charged our injuries. We have no occasion to rouse the indignation of citizens in order to inflame their courage.

“ The French nation, however, will never cease to consider as a friendly people, the inhabitants of the territory occupied by the rebels, and governed by princes who offer them protection. The peaceful citizens whose country armies may occupy, shall not be treated by her as enemies, nor even as subjects. The public force of which she may become the depositary, shall not be employed but to secure their tranquillity and maintain their laws. Proud of having regained the rights of nature, she will never outrage them in other men. Jealous of her independence, determined to bury herself in her own ruins, rather than suffer laws to be taken from her, or dictated to her, or even an insulting guaranty of those she has framed for herself, she will never infringe the independence of other nations. Her soldiers will conduct themselves on a foreign territory as they would on their own, if forced to combat
on

on it. The involuntary evils which her troops may occasion shall be repaired. The asylum which she offers to strangers shall not be shut against the inhabitants of countries whose princes shall have forced her to attack them, they shall find a sure refuge in her bosom. Faithful to the engagements made in her name, she will fulfil them with a generous exactness; but no danger shall be capable of making her forget that the soil of France belongs wholly to liberty, and that the laws of equality ought to be universal. She will present to the world the new spectacle of a nation truly free, submissive to the laws of justice amid the storms of war, and respecting every where, on every occasion, towards all men, the rights which are the same to all.

“Peace, which imposture, intrigue, and treason, have banished, will never cease to be the first of our wishes. France will take up arms, compelled to do so, for her safety and her internal peace, and we will be seen to lay them down with joy the moment she is assured that there is nothing to fear for that liberty—for that equality, which is now the only element in which Frenchmen can live. She dreads not war, but she loves peace; she feels that she has need of it; and she is too conscious of her strength to fear making the avowal. When, in requiring other nations to respect her repose, she took an eternal engagement not to trouble others, she might have thought that she deserved to be listened to, and that this solemn declaration, the pledge of tranquility, and the happiness of other nations, might have merited the affection of the princes who govern them; but such of those princes as apprehend that France would endeavour to excite internal agitations in other countries, shall learn that the cruel right of reprisal, justified by usage, condemned by nature, will not make her resort to the means employed against her own repose; that she will be just to those who have not been so to her; that she will every where pay as much respect to peace as to liberty; and that the men who still presume to call themselves the masters of other men, will have nothing to dread from her but the influence of her example.

“The French nation is free; and, what is more than to be free, she has the sentiment of freedom. She is free; she is armed; she can never be reduced to slavery. In vain are her intestine discords counted on; she has passed the dangerous moment of the reformation of her political laws; and she is too wise to anticipate the lesson of experience; she wishes only to maintain her constitution, and to defend it.

“The division of two powers proceeding from the same source, and directed to the same end, the last hope of our enemies, has vanished at the voice of our country in danger; and the King, by the solemnity of his proceedings, by the frankness
of

of his measures, shews to Europe the French nation strong in her means of defence and prosperity.

“ Relieved to the evils which the enemies of the human race united against her, may make her suffer, she will triumph over them by her patience and her courage ; victorious, she will seek neither indemnification nor vengeance.

“ Such are the sentiments of a generous people, which their representatives do themselves honour in expressing. Such are the projects of the new political system which they have adopted—to repel force, to resist oppression, to forget all when they have nothing more to fear ; and to adversaries, if vanquished, as brothers ; if reconciled, as friends. These are the wishes of all the French, and this is the war which they declare against their enemies.”

The *five* following papers farther elucidate this subject. They are of the months of December and January, and fully explain the grounds of difference between France and Austria.

1. Letter from the French Emigrants at Coblenz to the French King.

“ It is not to you, Sire, that we undertake to justify our resistance (to the invitations of return),—we know too well the true intentions of your Majesty. We shall never believe, that you have freely consented to renounce the sovereignty, which you hold from God alone, to render yourself the subordinate agent of the revolvers, who usurp your throne.

“ Your Majesty, less unhappy than was the head of your House, may reckon among your defenders two august brothers, the princes of the name of Conde, a name so dear to victory, the French nobility, and a great number of persons of the third estate, who have all dedicated their blood and the remainder of their fortune to the task of replacing the crown upon your head. It is in these circumstances, Sire, that we are invited to abandon your rights, and to submit ourselves to the multitude, who have deprived you of your liberty.

“ The fidelity which we have sworn, Sire, is to the whole House of Bourbon, and when it shall be possible that you may wish to deprive us of our obligations to you, these obligations will not subsist the less between us and your descendants. The throne will belong to them as it was transmitted to you, and such as you possessed it at your accession to the crown. Our fidelity will be due to them ; we are, therefore, not permitted to consent to any act which may deprive them of the rights of their birth, and of the inheritance to which they are called.

“ In

" In all nations, the proprietors of the land, the possessors of the richest personal property, have always formed a distinct class from the other inhabitants. Without this precaution, the latter, necessarily the most numerous, would continually hold the others in a precarious and uncertain state.

" Do not believe, Sire, that we have abandoned our country we hope to return with all those whom common danger has compelled to quit their houses; we shall return to bring with us order and peace; to replace your Majesty upon your throne; and to enjoy, with all your people, the blessings which you shall freely judge it suitable to grant them."

II. *Declaration made by the Elector of Treves to the French Emigrants.*

" His Serene Electoral Highness is perfectly at ease with respect to any invasion whatever of the electorate on the part of the French nation, because that would be the most certain means of drawing upon France a declaration of war from a more powerful court; and of overturning the new constitution; but it becomes necessary to satisfy the minds of the inhabitants of the electorate, by taking away from evil-designed persons even the slightest pretext for a hostile invasion.

" To act in concert, and to avoid whatever may cause misunderstandings, the undersigned is ordered to declare,

" 1. That his Serene Electoral Highness is highly pleased that the Princes, brothers of the King, have forbidden exercising, and every military preparation.

" 2. Any Frenchmen, not being armed, cannot be considered but as foreigners who reside in this country, and as such to whom an asylum has been granted in the Austrian low countries, and different provinces of the Empire.

" 3. The dispersion of the Gardes du Corps having taken place in pursuance of the desire of his Serene Electoral Highness, he has no longer any thing to complain of on that subject, and the assurances which the princes have given to the Elector, have left him nothing more to desire.

" 4. As the red companies have quitted the Electorate, that point ceases of course.

" 5. The different cantonments of the French nobility are conformable to the arrangements which have been adopted in the Austrian low countries: all assemblages which can give offence are avoided, and they may the better assist each other mutually, being separated from each other by provinces.

" 6. The Elector flatters himself, that the Princes, brothers of the King, will, for the future, willingly continue to attend strictly to prohibit the collecting of muskets, cannon, and

and warlike stores, and encourage no recruiting to go forward in the Electorate.

“ His Serene Electoral Highness desires and hopes, from the friendship and attachment of the Princes his nephews, that they will make no difficulty in giving their declarations in writing, of which use may be made to take the necessary measures to remove every pretence from the minister of France, and at the same time, to satisfy the minds of the inhabitants of this country. (Signed)

“ BARON DE DUMENIQUE.”

III. *Answer of the Emperor to a Letter presented to him by M. Noailles, in the Name of the King of the French.*

“ There can be no longer any doubt as to my manner of thinking upon the affairs of France. My last declaration, and the orders which I have caused to be given by my government at Brussels to the agent of the French emigrants, prove, that I consider my brother-in-law as free, and that my intention is, not to meddle with the affairs of his kingdom, as long as the French shall leave him all that they have voluntarily assured to him, and that which he has voluntarily accepted in the new constitutional contract.

“ But nothing further is to be required of me. If the King of the French has complaints against particular states of the empire, free sovereigns like myself, in virtue of the Germanic constitution, let him address himself to those sovereigns, and settle with them as he may understand them.”

IV. *Manifesto of the Emperor against France.*

Prince Kaunitz Rietberg, to the French Ambassador at Vienna.

Office of the Chancellor of the Court and State.

“ Prince Kaunitz Rietbergh, the chancellor of the court and state, having presented to the Emperor the official communication made by the French Ambassador, he has been authorized to express, in return to the said Ambassador, an answer with that entire freedom which his Imperial Majesty thinks it his duty to observe on all objects relative to the important crisis in which the kingdom of France is.

“ The chancellor has, in consequence, the honour to communicate on his side, that the Elector of Treves has also sent to the Emperor a note, which the minister of France was charged to present him at Coblenz, as likewise the answer which the Elector gave to said note; that this prince, at the same time,

time, had made known to his Imperial Majesty, that he had adopted, respecting the assembling and arming of the French refugees and emigrants, with regard to the furnishing them with arms and warlike ammunition, the same principles and regulations as had been put in force in the Austrian low countries.

“But that discontents began to spread between his subjects and those in the environs; that the tranquility of his frontiers and states were likely to be troubled by incursions and violences, notwithstanding this wise measure; and that the Elector claimed the assistance of the Emperor, in case the event realized his fears.

“That the Emperor is perfectly tranquil on the just and moderate intentions of the most Christian King, and not less convinced of the great interest which the French government has in preventing foreign sovereign princes from being provoked to act against them by force of arms; but daily experience shews, that there does not appear principles of stability and moderation enough in France, in the subordination of her powers, and especially in the provinces and municipalities, to prevent the apprehensions that the force of arms must be exercised in spite of the King’s intentions, and in spite of the dangers of the consequences.

“His Imperial Majesty, necessitated, as well by his friendship for the Elector of Treves as by the consideration he owes to the interest of Germany as a co-estate, and to his own interest as a neighbour, has enjoined Marshal de Bender, commandant-general of the troops in the Pays Bas, to march to the states of his Electoral Highness speedy and efficacious succours, in case he should be attacked with hostile incursions, or even imminently menaced with such.

“The Emperor is too sincerely attached to his Christian Majesty, and takes too great a part in the well-being of France, and the general repose, not to desire ardently the prevention of this extremity, and the infallible consequences which it will produce, as well on the part of the chief and the states of the German empire, as of other sovereigns, who have united in concert to maintain the public tranquillity, and for the safety and honour of crowns; and it is in consequence of this latter that the chancellor Prince Kaunitz is ordered to be open and unreserved to the Ambassador of France, to whom he has the honour of repeating his assurances of having the most distinguished consideration.”

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V. *Letter from the French Princes to the Emperor.*

“ OUR BROTHER AND COUSIN,

“ The absolute silence of your Majesty, and the conduct which you have been pleased to evince since the treaty of Pilnitz, seem to require from us an entire reserve and discretion; but, notwithstanding appearances, and the rigorous measures which your Majesty’s government in the low countries unceasingly pursues against the French, faithful to their duty and their honour, we always recall with confidence the sacred promises which your Majesty has made to the Comte d’Artois; and we have the firm assurance, that Leopold, faithful to his engagements, guided by the sentiments of his heart, and enlightened by his own proper interests, now wishes, and always will wish, to succour his ally, deliver his sister, and guaranty his own states, by destroying the germ of contagion.

“ A great occasion has at length presented: never could a more favourable opportunity be offered. It is our duty to submit to your Majesty what can be done in favour of France. It is for you to determine.

“ We do not here recall to your memory the present state of Europe. The north and the south have published their intentions.

“ Prussia and your Majesty have but one opinion. We are desirous to speak of the internal situation of France.

“ The new Assembly has fallen into disrepute; the frightful disorder of the finances announcing an approaching bankruptcy; no power, no order any longer exists in the state; our enemies are acquainted with their danger; they perceive their ruin inevitable, but they still persevere in the audaciousness of their crimes; and we dare to say, to a sovereign who loves truth, that the *seeming* conduct of your Majesty sustains their hopes, and emboldens them in their sanguinary projects.

“ The decree which they passed against Monsieur and the emigrants sufficiently developes their designs. They know that the brothers of the unfortunate Louis XVI. despise their menaces; they know that the nobility of France are attached only to honour; but directed at present by the Duke of Orleans, and the republican party, they wish to profit by the silence of Europe, and to seek their safety in the excess of their crimes.

“ To succeed in their designs, it was necessary they should take the audacious measure of depriving us both of a right, which their own decrees gave us, to the regency. Sufficient time has elapsed to judge of the effect which this new crime has produced upon the sovereigns of Europe, and more especially upon your Majesty;

Majesty ; but if they can be persuaded of your indifference, or if the prevalence of a dilatory system, which is equally dangerous, they will hasten to consummate their crimes ; they will annihilate the phantom of royalty which they now suffer to exist ; they will make an attempt on the life of the Queen ; and they will elect a thief, by bestowing the regency upon the Duke of Orleans.

“ We do not advance any thing of which we are not certain ; and your Majesty may be persuaded, that we speak not the language of exaggeration.

“ But, Sire, by a single word, by a single action, which will prove the firmness of your resolutions, not only will your Majesty disconcert all the projects of our enemies ; but the change of opinions is such, the discredit of the assembly so great, that at one and the same instant an insurrection will take place in all parts of the kingdom, and more especially in the heart of the capital, where the people are kept in subjection by the audacity of the rebels alone.

“ What we now demand of your Majesty is, that you will be pleased to make a public declaration, on purpose to assure the French princes of your protection, and also the other French, whose zeal, and the purity of whose principles, have obliged them to leave the kingdom.

“ There is nothing *personal* in our conduct : we act only for honour which is our sole recompence ; nothing can deprive us of it.

“ But it is left for your Majesty to consider, whether you will gauranty the life of the King and of the Queen, and produce the best and greatest effects by a measure which will not any way affect you ; or whether you chuse to leave the dearest and most precious claims to the chance of events, and the audacity of crimes.

“ We are,

“ With the most respectful sentiments, &c.”

All the preceding papers being laid before the National Assembly, they came to the following resolutions :

“ 1. The King shall be *invited* by a message, to declare to the Emperor, that he cannot in future treat with any power but in the name of the French nation, and in virtue of the powers delegated to him by the constitution.

“ 2. The King shall be invited to demand of the Emperor, if, as head of the House of Austria, he intends to live in peace with the French nation, or if he renounces all treaties and conventions directed against the sovereignty, independence, and safety of the nation.

“ 3. The

“ 3. The King shall be requested to declare to the Emperor, that in case he shall, before the 1st day of May next, fail to give full and entire satisfaction upon the points above stated, his silence shall be considered as a declaration of war.

“ 4. The King shall be requested to adopt the most efficacious measures to put the troops in a state to take the field, on the first orders they may receive.”

These resolutions being delivered to the King, he returned to the Assembly the following answer :

“ I have examined, Gentlemen, the *invitation*, which you caused to be presented to me. It is to me alone that appertains the right of preserving foreign connexions, or conducting negotiations; nor can the legislative body deliberate upon war, but on a formal and necessary proposition from me.

“ Without doubt, you may demand of me to take into consideration whatever interests the national safety and dignity; but the form which you have adopted is susceptible of important observations. I will not now developpe them. The weight of present circumstances requires that I should rather be solicitous to preserve an agreement in our sentiments than constitutionally to discuss my rights. I ought, therefore, to make known to you, that I have demanded of the Emperor, more than a fortnight since, a positive explanation on the principal articles which are the object of your invitation. I have preserved towards him that decorum which is reciprocally due between powers.

“ Should we have a war, let us not have to reproach ourselves with any wrong which might have provoked it. A certainty of this can alone assist us to support the inevitable evils it brings with it.

“ I know it is glorious for me to speak in the name of a nation which displays so much courage, and I know how to put a value on this immense means of strength. But what more sincere proof can I give of my attachment to the constitution, than that of acting with as much mildness in negotiation as celerity in our preparations, which will permit us, should necessity require it, to enter into a campaign within six weeks. The most uneasy distrust can find in this conduct only the union of all my duties.

“ I remind the Assembly, that humanity forbids the mixture of any movement of enthusiasm in the decision for war. Such a determination should be the act of mature reflection, for it is to pronounce, in the name of the country, that her interests require her to sacrifice a great number of her children.

“ I am nevertheless awake to the honour and safety of the nation, and I will hasten, with all my power, that moment, when

when I can inform the National Assembly, whether they may rely on peace, or if I ought propose to them a war.

(Signed)

“ LOUIS.

(Counterfigned)

“ DUPORT.”

In the month of February 1792, the imperial minister at Paris presented a memorial to the French court, in which he said—

“ I answer, in the name of the Emperor, my master, to the explanations required by the Court of France :—His sentiments are so pure, that he willingly submits to explain away the delusion artfully propagated in order to commit the tranquility of both states. The request rested on two points; the first relative to the orders issued to General Bender to prepare for war. This armament was merely defensive; it had no other object but to protect the electorate of Treves from an invasion. The second point related to the Emperor’s alliance with the King of Prussia and other powers. Though it be misnamed a *league*, nothing can be more just than the treaty by which the kings declared, in the month of June 1791, that they would support the cause of his most Christian Majesty against his rebel oppressors. Nothing but the King’s perfect state of freedom could have disarmed his avengers; but should rebellion break out anew, the confederacy of kings would have its effect.”

On the first day of March 1792, the Emperor died. This event did not suspend the correspondence between the courts of France and Austria. The Emperor’s eldest son, who succeeded to his hereditary dominions by the name of Francis I. almost instantly manifested that he adopted his father’s politics and measures, particularly with respect to France.

Here it may not be improper to make a few historical observations on the *ostensible* cause of dispute between France and Austria—(we say *ostensible*, because the *real* cause is, the annihilation of the kingly power in France)—relative to the privileges, feudal tenures, &c. in Alsace and Lorrain.

Alsace, and the three bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were ceded to France by the treaty of Munster, signed the 24th of October 1648, in the most ample manner, and to hold them with the privileges, rights, &c. of the House of Austria; which cession was confirmed in a subsequent diet of the German empire.

But stipulations were made by the 88th article, notwithstanding the sovereignty thus transferred, for the privileges of the nobles, &c. in those provinces, and also for their *immediate*, which may be translated, their dependance upon, or right of protection from the German empire.

Upon

Upon the construction of these jarring articles, upon the sense of granting a sovereignty *in plena potestate*, and upon the meaning of a subsequent article, containing a reservation of a dependence on the empire, the French and Imperial ministers have had constant disputes, which, like many other political arguments, seem to have confirmed the disputants in their own opinions.

In the negotiations at Nimeguen in 1678, this matter was revived by the imperial minister; but France being then in the plenitude of her power, and rendered still greater by our desertion of the allies, and by Sir William Temple's negotiations having been traversed and crossed by a private emissary of the Dutchess of Portsmouth, France refused to have this matter brought upon the carpet; and the treaty of Nimuegen was signed without explanation on this subject.—The German ministers, however, made a solemn protestation in favour of this right of protection, reserved by the treaty of Munster.

The treaty of Rhyswick in 1697, having settled some other points relative to the treaty of Westphalia, this matter was passed over in silence in that pacification.

The French diplomatic writers, the Abbé Mably, and Pere Bongeant, the celebrated historian of the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Westphalia, argue from this last circumstance, that the empire, by their silence, had thus relinquished any further pursuit of this claim; that the 88th article of that famous treaty was inserted merely to quiet some scruples and prejudices of the inhabitants of those provinces, when they were ceded to France.

But, by the Emperor's diploma, which was read in the National Assembly in December last, it is plain, that he still claims a right of protecting the nobility of Alsace, &c. in their rights, as vassals of the empire—complaining of the innovations made by the new French constitution in 1789, and also of the writings, the polyglot of the French constitution, &c. &c. which have been dispersed in his states, to disseminate the principles of disobedience and revolt.

Thus a question has arisen upon the treaty of Westphalia, which may interest all the powers of Europe, who are concerned either as mediators, guarantees, or parties in that treaty; save only England and Russia; the date of 1648 accounts for the first, and the latter was not considered as within the circle of European politics before the reign of Peter the Great.

This historical deduction of *pretended* causes, will enable the reader to judge of the propriety and truth of any future papers on this subject. But he will not fail to keep in memory the *affinity* between the Queen of France and the House of Austria, and that the interference of the latter in the affairs of France *proceeds primarily*

primarily from that source, although there is *another secret cause*, first promulgated by the late King of Sweden, which may be called the cause of kings. All those sovereigns who conceive the new Constitution of France holds out an example to the subjects of every potentate to limit the power of the prince accede to the House of Austria.

The French minister at Vienna having demanded a farther explanation of the designs of the imperial court, and a request of the new King of Hungary to recognize the French Constitution, he received the following answer :

“ That the King of Hungary having fully adopted the political system of the late Emperor, he would explain himself with a frankness that became a great power. The King of France complains of the assembling troops in Germany. No assembling of troops there is known, that ought to be considered as an indication of hostility. *Troops are assembled in much greater numbers in France.* The King of Hungary, and the princes of Germany, may perhaps think it proper to assemble still greater numbers, to maintain the internal peace of their several states, disturbed by the example of the troubles in France, and the criminal machinations of the Jacobin party ; but these princes will never consent to tie up their own hands in that respect, which no power has a right to require of them. With respect to the engagements and concerts between the court of Vienna and the most respectable powers in Europe, this court will continue to maintain them, till the French nation, adopting a milder course, shall repel the insinuations of a sanguinary faction, that excites tumults and acts of violence against the liberty of the kings, and the faith of the treaties ; but should the design and artifices of that faction prevail, the King of Hungary flatters himself that the *sound and principal part of the nation* will consider, as a consoling prospect of support, the existence of a concert ; the views of which are worthy of its confidence, and the most important crisis that has ever affected the common interests of Europe.”

The allusion to the *sound part* of the nation, the National Assembly construed to mean the party who are denominated *Aristocrats*. And the charge which in the above answer is made against France, of assembling her troops, was founded upon the French King's having ordered some time before three armies to be assembled.

The first under M. Rochambeau, on the north frontier.

The second under M. de la Fayette, on the Brabant frontier ;

And the third under M. Luckner, on the Rhine.

At this period it will be proper to take a view of the proceedings of the National Assembly of France, because it is from thence that we must now draw the connexion of our narrative :

On

On the 14th of April, M. Dumourier, minister of foreign affairs, laid before the National Assembly, the following letters :

Letter of M. Noailles, Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, to M. Dumourier, French Minister for foreign Affairs.

“ SIR,

“ I yesterday received by the courier Duclos, the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the 10th of March. It was on the same day that the answer went off to the last note, which I had been charged to transmit to the ministry. I conformed entirely to the communication made on the 1st of March to the National Assembly. You will have seen, Sir, what has been the result. There is no doubt that affairs in reality have not assumed a new appearance since the death of the Emperor Leopold, nor has any change taken place which ought to strengthen the hopes of those who entertain sincere wishes for the general tranquility. The young King, as I have formerly informed you, will necessarily allow himself to be guided in the commencement of his reign ; and if not his own character, will, at least in the conduct of his ministry, display great inflexibility of principle.

“ I have, Sir, availed myself of the letter of M. De Lessart, under the title of an “ Extract, communicated confidentially.” I did not communicate the whole letter. I preserved, however, a great part of it, because the expressions were so moderate as to give me reason to hope for the greatest success. The experience which I had from a residence of nine years, induced me to adopt this step.—The Austrian minister all at once made a declaration of sentiments which before he had dissembled—the letter of M. De Lessart was taken in pieces, and detached passages were perverted to a construction foreign to their real meaning.

“ These reflections are not intended to justify myself, but to present a statement of the real dispositions of the court of Vienna. Can my last note have given ground for those violent declamations, which are to be found in the Austrian answer, and which brings back to the very point from which we set out last July ? It is not necessary for me now to do dissemble those efforts which I have made to persuade the ministry here, that if they were desirous to secure their own repose, and promote ours, they ought to avoid all censure of our internal administration. I have incessantly repeated, that censure, only allowable in private conversation, when committed to ministerial communications, become the most sensible affront to the honour of a nation. What effect, Sir, have these representations, so strongly

strongly urged, produced? You have actually in your hands the communication of March 18,—the government here have made this communication, and those which preceded it as public as possible, by publishing it; of which I enclose you three copies, and by announcing that an exact translation of them into German will speedily make its appearance. What can be more glaringly offensive, or what means can, after such a conduct, remain open for negotiation? So little am I acquainted with any, that I should think myself wanting to the honour of the nation and the dignity of the King, if I took any step with the ministry here till you shall have the goodness to answer my dispatch of the 19th March. I have only taken occasion to send to the chancellery of state a letter to the King of Hungary, presuming it was an answer to the notification of the death of the Emperor.

“I shall suspend sending my resignation, from those motives of honour which I have mentioned; otherwise nothing is hazarded since there is nothing to negotiate.

“I shall mention, for this last season, that I have had the honour to write to the King to entreat his Majesty to permit me to resign. I again demand this favour, Sir, through your mediation and I solicit it with all the ardour of a zealous servant of his country; who perceiving that he can no longer be useful at his post, thinks himself bound to yield it to another. I can, in the mean time, continue to attend to the ordinary business till the end, and while I wait to receive the final orders of his Majesty.

(Signed)

“NOAILLES.”

Letter from M. Dumourier, Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, to M. Noailles, French Ambassador at the Court of Vienna.

“SIR,

Paris March 19, 1792.

“I have laid before the King your dispatches of the 29th of January, and the 1st and 3d of March.

“As the affairs of Austria may take a new direction in consequence of the death of Leopold, the King does not expect an immediate answer to the dispatches transmitted you by M. Delessart. The disgrace of that minister has been occasioned in a great measure by the feebleness with which he conducted his negotiations.

“It is unpleasant that you should have communicated to M. de Kaunitz the confidential letter, of which an extract, properly made, would not have furnished that minister with the means of a violent declamation, which could not but be injurious to the pacific negotiations, which might have been perceived in

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the dispatches of M. de Kaunitz, to have formed a principle of the late Emperor's policy. The future negotiation will take a simple and direct course—such is the intention of the King, which he has recommended to me upon entering into the ministry, so that all the dispatches which you shall in future receive may, without danger, be presented to the minister of the new sovereign.

“Peace or war, depends entirely upon the cabinet of Vienna. What you have said relative to the character of the King of Bohemia and Hungary, affords room to hope, that he will reflect maturely upon the horrors of a long and terrible war, of which he *alone* must bear the expences and the losses, even if he were to achieve the ruin of France. I also think, that the sacrifice of an alliance which has been so eminently useful to his family, will leave him after the termination of hostilities without any ally whatever, and infinitely more in the power of his natural enemies than before.

“If he should favour the criminal fury of the emigrants, which is a subject of such regret to the paternal heart of the King, there would only result to himself an equal state of feebleness to that in which he should have involved France, and in consequence of which he would lose all that ascendancy which the possession of the Imperial throne for two hundred years has given to his predecessors; he would, likewise, perhaps, lose that exalted dignity—and should he afterwards be attacked by his allies of the present moment, France, exhausted and torn in pieces by a civil war, which might last even after the foreign one had ceased, would be unable to afford him assistance against his new enemies.

“This is a true picture of the dangers attendant upon his success. On the contrary, should the issue of the war prove unfavourable to the offending powers, the victories of France would affect the King of Bohemia and Hungary alone, on account of the vicinity of his territories to our frontiers. It is possible that the prospect of a speedy coronation may be held out to him, of which his accelerating the war may be made a condition; but this distinction of head of the Empire, and head of the House of Austria, cannot avail him for one minute. From that moment the ties will be broken, and the war will become personal to him. Thus he alone will have to sustain all its weight, as already observed.

What can be the motives of such a war?—The claims upon Alsace and Lorraine?—These can be adjusted by negotiation alone; and, on the contrary, war will break off all measures of accommodation.

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“The cause of the emigrants?—The King attests, that he has employed every means in his power to induce them to return to France. They are acting in open disobedience to his Majesty, and as criminals to their country. Can the King of Bohemia and Hungary take upon him to defend rebels? and would not the example be dangerous to himself?”

“Our armament?—It was provoked by the treaty of Pilnitz, and by the asylum granted to the refugees on the frontiers. It is purely defensive; and, as a proof of it, the King has not ordered a fleet to be equipped, merely because England has not exhibited any symptoms of menace.

“I shall say nothing of the clubs and pamphlets, which have been so repeatedly complained of: if this were a just motive for war, all Europe would long since have undertaken a crusade against Great Britain. It is in our constitution—it is in our laws—it is in our Declaration of Rights itself, that the chiefs of nations may find our principles, and the foundation of our conduct. The King of the French has the new constitution engraven upon his heart—it has his firm attachment—it has his best wishes. His conduct will be invariable, and the open sincerity of his negotiation may be relied upon. Such is the persuasion with which you ought to inspire the new King and his ministers, which ought to deprive them of every motive of war.

“The head of a great free nation, the King, will do every thing consistent with his dignity to avoid a war founded on motives so unjustifiable. If circumstances, or the blind infatuation of the chiefs of other nations compel him to defend himself, he will present to the French nation the negotiations which he shall have made, in order to procure peace, and will derive from it the resources and energy necessary to carry on war.

“A concert of powers is evidently formed against France. This concert can hardly exist beyond the present moment, because it strikes at the root of order and sound policy. It cannot remain; it must necessarily cease, either after or during the war. In either case, the head of the House of Austria will remain alone exhausted of men and money. All danger of hostility would cease, on receiving a frank and open declaration on the part of the court of Vienna, and a mutual disarming would instantly take place.

“The pretext of the necessity of a large body in the Low Countries, to prevent the spirit of revolution from spreading there, is by no means a sufficient motive. The more troops are assembled in these five provinces, the more will the inhabitants be harassed, oppressed, and excited to insurrection. Armies cannot restrain a people when they wish to be free. The more force is

opposed, the greater energy rises, till it becomes fury, which cannot be resisted. Genoa may afford an example to the House of Austria. This small town routed a whole army.

"The French revolution affords an example still more striking. Allow the Belgic provinces to be happy, and to maintain their constitution, and they will remain in tranquility. The court of Vienna well knows who have excited the Belgic disturbances. It knows well that the Constituent Assembly rejected the Belgic provinces, because their Theocratic revolution was the reverse of ours.

"To their new allies they are indebted for this bad piece of service, and if they should no longer interfere in the affairs of Flanders, provided it enjoyed a good government, the ordinary garrisons would be sufficient for its security. The diminution of the troops in this province is then necessary to prove the good intentions of the King of Hungary, as well as the expulsion of all the emigrants who are convened in arms from the Austrian dominions. This example would influence the inferior sovereigns of the Germanic league; in a short time the assembling of troops, and suspicions of hostilities, would cease on both sides. All the menaces and preparation of war will disappear, and nothing will remain but to adjust in an amicable manner the claims of the princes. This cannot be done amidst the din and bustle of armies. As to the concert of powers, as it has only one object, which ought not to exist; as it is a POLITICAL MONSTER, it will destroy itself, and there will remain only the means of better securing the peace of Europe.

"Such, Sir, is the basis on which the King orders you to treat with the court of Vienna, that you may obtain an open and decisive answer. I will lay before his Majesty the account of the success of your negotiation; and I am persuaded, that, by holding out, with all the energy of truth, these powerful interests to the court of Vienna, you will soon be able to determine the issue of this political crisis, which cannot be of a long duration.

(Signed) "DUMOURIER."

Letter from the King of the French to the King of Hungary.

"SIR, MY BROTHER AND NEPHEW,

"The tranquility of Europe depends on the answer which your Majesty shall make to the conduct which is due from me to the great interests of the French nation—to its glory, and to the safety of the unfortunate victims of that war with which a powerful combination threatens France. Your Majesty cannot doubt that I freely had voluntarily accepted the Constitution;—I have sworn to maintain it—my repose and my honour are inseparably

parably connected with it—my fate is linked with that of the nation, whose hereditary representative I am, and which, in spite of the calumnies thrown out against it, merits, and shall always possess, the esteem of all nations.

“The French have sworn to live free or to die—I am pledged by the same oath.

“The Sieur de Maulde, whom I send as Ambassador Extraordinary to your Majesty, will explain to you the means to avert those calamities of war which threaten Europe. With these sentiments I remain, &c. &c.

(Signed)

“LOUIS.”

Dispatch from M. Dumourier to M. de Noailles.

“SIR,

Paris, March 27.

“I have received your letters of the 28th and 29th of February, and one of the 12th and 13th of March, and also one, No. 10, from M. Marbois, dated the 13th. I see, by your first letter, that the negotiations would be infinitely prolonged, if you do not carry it on according the spirit of my first dispatches, that the King would not be able to give a satisfactory answer to the nation, and that should the opinion of M. Cobentzel prevail, we should not be able for a great while to terminate the business; for it is impossible to make us believe that the troops by which we were surrounded ought not to give us umbrage. It is impossible to make us believe that the Court of Vienna sends troops into the Brisgaw, re-inforces those in the Milanois, and is forming an army attended with a train of besieging artillery and immense magazines, for the sole purpose of maintaining tranquility in the Netherlands.

“As the spring is approaching, and the troops are reinforcing, as we see over all Europe hostile preparations making against us, it is no longer possible to be imposed on by words.

“The opinion of Cobentzel is, besides, erroneous, when he attempts to make you believe that there is no reason why the federation of the different courts should not continue on the same ground as before, that is, depending on events. Whatever M. Cobentzel may say, our government is possessed of strength, and rests on a firm basis. It has nothing to do with a republican system. The King is invested with constitutional power, far superior to despotic power. It is with a very ill grace asserted, that we are likely to cause alarms among all the neighbouring nations. If we are plunged in anarchy, we cannot be formidable to other powers. A league formed against us must therefore be intended for the purpose of dividing our spoils. If we be in a settled
state,

state, it is unjust to make use of menaces against us. In every point of view there is therefore no reason for forming a league against us. The re-union of Avignon is also a vain pretext. This country, in the bosom of the surrounding southern provinces, has for a great while belonged to France; her title to it has never been lost by prescription. It was simply a process between the King of France and the Pope; it is now a process between the French nation and the King of the French on one part, and the Pope on the other.

"At the worst, it can only be terminated by granting an indemnity, in the same manner as to the German princes having possessions in Alsace.

"The ministry of Vienna might have known by the conduct of the National Assembly, and by the Constitution, which must be read that we may be understood,—and which Constitution has been acknowledged by the Emperor Leopold, that we renounce all conquest for war; it is not, therefore, in our power to desire the inhabitants of the Netherlands to throw themselves into the arms of France.

"M. de Cobentzel does not, any more than yourself, place any confidence in the observations which he made to you. Instead of tending to a pacific negotiation they would tend to break off all kind of negotiations. It is impossible the King can wait any longer. It is impossible that, after he has been invited by the National Assembly to demand a categorical answer, he should suffer this negotiation, on which the fate of Europe depends, to be farther protracted. It is ridiculous to demand, within eight days, the confutation of worn-out arguments, which are employed simply to gain time.

"Entrusted with their presentation, and with the confidence of a great nation, he daily expects a categorical answer. By my first dispatches you are informed in what this answer must consist.

"If the successor of Leopold be willing to observe his treaties with France, he must without hesitation, break off those which he has made unknown to her, and with hostile intentions against her. He must also withdraw those troops by whom we are threatened, because such a state of perplexity is contrary both to the proceedings of an ancient ally, and to the interests of the court of Vienna. If this declaration be not very speedy and very sincere, the King will, on the return of the courier whom you shall send, consider himself as decidedly in a state of war, and he will be supported by the whole nation, which is eager for a prompt decision. Endeavour, Sir, to finish this negotiation, some way or other, before the 15th of April. If from this moment to that epoch, we should be informed, that the

the troops remain on the frontiers, and receive reinforcements, it will no longer be possible to restrain the just indignation of a free and spirited nation, which it is in vain to seek to vilify, to intimidate, or to impose upon, until all preparations be ready to attack it. I expect from you, Sir, all the energy which becomes the French nation. You will preserve its dignity, by speaking freely, and by speedily coming some way or other to a conclusion."

Letter from M. Noailles to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

" SIR.

" Your dispatches of the 27th of March were brought to me by the courier Dorville, on the 4th of April. I immediately obeyed the instructions contained in them, by visiting the Count Cobentzel, vice chancellor of the state and of court. I preferred addressing myself to him, because he is more accessible than M. the Prince de Kaunitz, and because I was sure, by his means of introducing whatever I chose to the knowledge of the sovereign.

" I said every thing to the vice chancellor which could produce a definitive explanation, such as you wished. I represented to him how much our uneasiness increased every day, upon observing the hostile preparations directed against us.

(M. Noailles, after some similar observations, concluded his address to Count Cobentzel, by saying, that he had received orders to demand a declaration, by which the court of Vienna should renounce it's armaments and the coalition; and to announce, that, in default of this declaration, the French King will consider himself to be in a state of war with Austria, in which he would be supported by the whole nation, who wish only for an immediate decision.)

" Count Cobentzel undertook to justify his court from the hostile views imputed to it, and contended, that the reinforcements sent to Briegaw were for the preservation of order. I observed, that so many precautions, after the concert, that was known to us, justified our alarms. I insisted especially upon the conclusion of this concert, so contrary to what we might expect from an ally.

" The reply of Count Cobenzel confirmed me in my former opinion, that his court did not wish to attack us, but would make requisitions, which it would be difficult to avoid without a war. He said, that the concert was no longer personal to the King of Hungary; that he could not withdraw himself, but with other courts; and that this concert would

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continue till what remained to be settled with France was brought to a conclusion. He specified to me three points :

“ 1. That satisfaction should be given to the Princes possessed in Alsace.

“ 2. That satisfaction should be given to the Pope for the county of Avignon.

“ 3. That the neighbouring powers shall have no reason for the apprehensions, which arise from the present weakness of the internal government of France.

“ I asked Count Cobentzel, if for answer to the representations, which I had made him, I might say, that his court adhered to the official note of the 10th of March. The minister perceiving himself surrounded by the circle, which I had drawn, said, that he would take directions of his Majesty, and inform me of what he should be ordered to say.

“ M. De Bichoffswerder set out this day upon his return to Berlin. He would have begun his journey sooner, but that he waited for a circular letter, which will be addressed to the coalesced courts, and probably to the states of the Empire, as *co-states*, demanding from each the assistance that they have proposed to give, either in money or men, in case of war.

“ This, I am informed, was the motive of his delay, but I have no certainty upon the subject. M. De Bichoffswerder will stop at Prague to see the Prince of Hohenlohe, and agree with him upon the time and place for an interview between the Austrian General and the Duke of Brunswick. This interview is expected to take place at Leipzig, in the course of a month. According to my opinion, the court of Vienna has adopted a plan purely defensive, notwithstanding the endeavours of the court of Berlin to suggest another.”

Second Letter of M. Noailles.

“ I have waited, Sir, for the answer of the Count de Cobentzel. He has just informed me, on the part of the King of Hungary, that the note, dated March 18, contains the answer to the demands, which I had been charged to renew ; and that the disposition expressed in that note could be the less altered, since it contained also the opinion of the King of Prussia upon the affairs of France, an opinion agreeing, in all respects, with that of the King of Hungary.”

The President then read the following letter from the King :

“ MR. PRESIDENT,

“ I entreat you to make known to the assembly, that I shall come there to-morrow at half past twelve o'clock.

“ LOUIS.”

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On Friday, the 20th of April, his Majesty came to the Assembly, the members of which rose and were uncovered as he entered, and took their seats, when he had reached his place, the King then spoke as follows :

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I have come among you for an object of the highest importance in the present circumstances. My minister of foreign affairs will read to you the report which he made to me in council on our situation with regard to Germany.”

“ The Minister for foreign affairs then went up, and standing by the King’s side, read the report, which the King had notified to the Assembly.

Minute of the Cabinet Council of France, addressed to the King.

“ SIRE,

“ When you took an oath of fidelity to the Constitution, you became the object of the hatred of the enemies of liberty. No natural tie could stop—no motive of alliance, of neighbourhood, of propriety, could prevent their enmity. Your ancient allies erased your name out of the list of despots, and from that moment they forgot your Majesty’s fidelity. The emigrants, rebels to the laws of their country, are gone beyond the frontiers to prepare a guilty aggression against France. They wish to carry into its bosom fire and sword. Their rage would have been impotent if the foreign princes had not seconded, and encouraged their criminal manœuvres. The House of Austria has done every thing to encourage their audacity. The House of Austria, who since the treaty of 1756 has found us good and faithful allies ! This treaty, Sire, subjected us to the ambitious views of this House. She engaged us in all her wars, to which she called us as her allies. We have been prodigal of our blood in the cruel tragedies of despotism. The instant that the House of Austria saw she could no longer govern us for her purposes, she became our enemy.

“ It was Austria that had stirred up against France the restless Northern Potentate, whose tyrannical phrenzy had at last made him fall under the sword of an assassin.—It was Austria who in office, of which Europe shall judge, advised one party of Frenchmen to take up arms against the other. The note of the court of Vienna, of the 18th of February, was in truth a declaration of war ; M. Kaunitz there avows the league of the powers against France. The death of Leopold ought to have made some change in this ambitious system, but we have seen the contrary.

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"The note of the 18th of March is the ultimatum of the court of Vienna. This note is more provoking still than the former. The King of Hungary wishes that we should submit our Constitution to his revision; and he does not dissemble the project of arming Frenchmen against Frenchmen.

"Sire, continues the Minister, in charging me with the administration of foreign affairs, you have imposed on me the telling of you the truth: I proceed to tell you the truth. It results from this measure, that the treaty of 1756, is broken in fact, on the side of Austria. That the maintenance of a league of the powers, is an act of hostility against France; and, that you ought this instant to order M. Noailles, your ambassador, to quit the court of Vienna, without taking leave.—Sire, the Austrian troops are on the march—the camps are marked out—fortresses are building. The nation, by its oath, on the 14th of July, has declared, that any man who shall accede to an unconstitutional negotiation, is a traitor. The delay granted to Austria is expired—your honour is attacked—the nation is insulted; therefore, there remains for you no other part to take, but to make to the National Assembly the formal proposition of war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

The Minister having read this minute, the King resumed his speech.

"You have heard, Messieurs, the deliberation and the decision of my council, I adopt their determination. It is conformable to the wish, many times expressed, of the National Assembly, and to that which has been addressed to me by many districts of France. It appears to me to be the wish of all the French people. Frenchmen prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to an humiliating state, which compromises our Constitution, and our dignity. I have done every thing to avert war—but I judge it indispensable; I come, therefore, in the terms of our Constitution, *to propose to you formally to declare war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary.*"

A burst of applause broke from the galleries. The Assembly maintained a dignified silence.

The President answered:

"SIRE,

"The Assembly will proceed to deliberate on the great proposition which your Majesty has made to them. They will address to you, by a message, the result of their deliberation."

The King then retired with his ministers, and the hall rung with the acclamations of the people.

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In the afternoon of the same day, the Assembly resumed the subject of war, and having come to a resolution, "That war be declared against the King of Bohemia and Hungary;" at eleven o'clock at night, a deputation of twenty-four members, waited upon the King with the following message:

"SIRE,

"The National Assembly have thought it their duty to come to a speedy determination on the proposition you made to them, for declaring war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary. They charge us to present their decree for your Majesty's sanction. It is conformable to the wish that you have expressed to them. It is the result of the lively and constant solicitude of the elected representatives, and the hereditary representative of the nation, for maintaining its dignity, its liberty, and its constitution."

The King's Answer.

"I shall take the decree of the National Assembly into deep consideration. It involves the most important interests of the nation."

Next day the Minister of Justice informed the Assembly, that the King had sanctioned the decree.

The following is a Copy of the Decree, declaring War against the King of Hungary and Bohemia.

"The National Assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the King, considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels; that it has excited and formed a concert with several powers of Europe against the independence and security of the French nation:

"That Francis I. King of Hungary and Bohemia, has by his notes of the 18th of March and 7th of April last, refused to renounce this concert.

"That notwithstanding the proposition made to him by the note of 11th March 1792, to reduce, on both sides, to a peace establishment the troops on the frontiers, he has continued and increased the hostile preparations.

"That he has formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring that he would support the pretensions of the German princes, possessionaries in France, to whom the French nation have continued to hold out indemnifications.

"That he has attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one another, by holding out support to the malcontents in the concert of the powers; considering in fine, that the refusal of an answer to the last dispatches of the King of the

French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negotiation, the redress of those different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war, decrees that there exists a case of urgency.

“ The National Assembly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by the Constitution, not to undertake any war with the view of making conquests, and never to employ its force against the liberty of any people, only take up arms in defence of their liberty and their independence; that the war into which they are compelled to enter, is not a war of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people, against the unjust oppression of a Monarch. That the French will never confound their brothers with their enemies; that they will neglect nothing to soften the rigours of war; to preserve their property, and prevent it from sustaining any injury, and to bring down upon the heads of those alone, who league themselves against liberty, all the evils inseparable from war.

“ That it adopts all those foreigners who, abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall join its standard and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom; that it will even favour, by all the means in its power, their establishment in France.

“ Deliberating on the formal propositions of the King, and after having decreed the case of urgency, decrees war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia.”

In consequence of the decree, war was immediately declared in the usual formalities, in every city throughout France.

The state of the French army at this time, was as follows :

Valenciennes, April 29. The great body of the army destined for encampment, consists of more than thirty thousand men; there will be three camps; the strongest near Valenciennes, the second near Dunkirk, and the third at Maubeuge.

The following are the stations of our General Officers :

Army of Rochambeau, comprising the first and sixth divisions.—Mareschal Rochambeau, at Valenciennes; Lieutenant-Generals D'Aumont, at Lille; D'Elbeck, at Dunkirk; Crillon, sen. at Valenciennes; Caulaincourt, at Arras; D'Harville, at Cambray. Nine camp mareschals in the before mentioned places.

Army of La Fayette comprehending the second, third, and fourth divisions.—M. de la Fayette, at Metz; Lieutenant-Generals De Wittgenstein and De Bellemont, at Metz; Crillon, jun. at Nancy; Paiquet, at Thiouville; Defranc, at Luneville; fourteen camp mareschals in the before mentioned places.

Army

Army of Luckner, comprehending the fifth and seventh divisions.—M. Luckner, at Strasbourg; Lieutenant-Generals De Gell, at Strasbourg; La Moliere, at Besançon; De Custine, Ketterman, at Landau. Eleven camp marshals at the above mentioned places.

Proclamation of the Government at Brussels, in Answer to the Declaration of War on the Part of France.

“MARIE CHRISTINE, Princess Royal of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria, Duchess of Burgundy, Lorraine and Saxe-Teschén, &c.

ALBERT-CASIMIR, Prince Royal of Poland and Lithuania, Duke of Saxe-Teschén, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of St. Stephen, Field Marshal of the Armies of his Majesty the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and of those of the Holy Roman Empire, &c.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS, AND CAPTAINS-GENERAL
OF THE LOW COUNTRIES, &c. &c.

“A faction by which the kingdom of France, has for four years, been torn asunder, has just prevailed on his Most Christian Majesty, to sanction a declaration of war against his Apostolical Majesty, our most honoured lord and nephew. The first acts of hostility seem to be directed against these provinces; and the enemies of all order and power, who are meditating on aggression so unjust, found their hopes of success on the spirit of party which was unfortunately disseminated during the late troubles.

“We will carefully attend to the defence of those provinces with the government of which we are entrusted, relying with confidence on the protection of the Lord of Hosts, who is pleased to manifest the effects of his Omnipotence in favour of those who are inspired with a sacred respect for the laws, and for all powers by him ordained on the earth for the government of human societies.

“We flatter ourselves that every class of citizens will be animated with one spirit, and that they will vigilantly attend to the maintenance of internal tranquility, and the preservation of property, while we order to the frontiers part of his Majesty's troops, full of glory, and crowned by victory under the two last reigns, until the league, formed between several great powers, shall oppose a mound to the torrent of sinister projects which menace the overthrow of Europe.

“We owe it to the faithful subjects of his Majesty, to inform them of the measures which we have adopted, during a whole year, in hopes of remaining at peace with France; and to warn them

them of the innumerable calamities which our enemies are eager to spread and perpetuate, under the specious veil of a chimerical liberty. offered to a credulous multitude, by an impious sect of innovators, *foi disant* philosophers, as the infallible result of their mad projects. Their's is not to war with the princes of the earth, but against the religion, of our ancestors, against social order, against prosperity, and against all the comforts which naturally flow from it. They have already, by the adoption of their absurd systems, plunged their country into all the horrors of anarchy. Jealous of the prosperity of those nations who still enjoy the fruits of social order, they have formed, for their own protection, the barbarous project of inspiring them with a similar delirium of propagating their errors, and with them all the calamities with which the kingdom of France is at this time afflicted.

“ They have been during a whole year meditating and inventing pretexts for the aggression on which they had resolved. Having driven away from the bosom of France, by dint of persecutions, all those citizens who were attached to the established religion, and to the prerogative, hitherto held sacred by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, they have attempted to prevent them from enjoying in any part of the world, the sweets of hospitality which men reciprocally owe to each other. We have been extremely careful not to afford the slightest grounds of complaint, resolved not to meddle, in the least degree, with the political government of any neighbouring states. We have taken care to prevent that any thing should be attempted, or even written in those provinces, against the Constitution just established in France; and, as a reward for our strict attention to the laws of good neighbourhood, a horde of factious vagabonds has been assembled on our frontiers, resolved on the execution of the most infernal plots. The most infamous writings against religion, and against the constitutional authority of the sovereign, have been dispersed in these provinces. These writings were substantially the same as the speeches delivered in the midst of authorised societies, in which the most atrocious crimes have been recommended as virtues, with a view to flatter the criminal propensities of a set of men, in hopes of reconciling them to a system, which in history will be the disgrace of the present generation.

“ All our remonstrances on this subject have been made in vain; and whilst we paid the greatest attention to complaints relative to armaments which had no existence, and to pretended insults offered to Frenchmen, all kinds of excesses have been multiplied against the subjects of his Majesty, and committed on his territories, and we have never obtained on so many objects of complaint,

plaint, any thing more than promises of satisfaction, which have in no instance been performed; and when we have, on our part, exercised that vigilance, which was become necessary on the conduct of emissaries, who it was boasted openly, were sent into those provinces on purpose to excite insurrections and to create anarchy, we have been insulted for having taken those precautions which were construed into attempts against the safety and the liberty of the French travellers. On the other hand, we were applauded for having given orders to prevent the assembling of the unfortunate French gentlemen who had emigrated from the kingdom, and to oblige them to conform most strictly to the laws of simple hospitality, in order to preclude the possibility of their arming and forming themselves into a military corps.

“These measures, which France seems now to have forgotten, were quoted to the princes of the empire as an example proper for them to imitate in the respective states, and with which the despotic agents of the French government would be satisfied.

“We shall avoid taking notice of all the calamities with which France is afflicted—we should leave to time the disclosure of the machinations perpetually recommended by a set of insidious writers in their dangerous publications, were it not evident that, at the moment of the intended aggression against these provinces, a resolution is taken to spread the poison of a seductive illusion on the pretended advantages of the French Constitution, with a view to make those partakers of it who may be deluded by this means; but it is necessary that the people who are confided to our government be reminded and informed that the kingdom of France groans at this time, in the name of liberty, under the most hateful slavery, every species of vice, of the most unbridled passions, and of a species of anarchy which is without example; that rights and property are abolished; that the holy religion which we profess is there trodden under foot; that altars are profaned and polluted; that their true ministers are deprived of their just rights, ill-treated, persecuted even in their retreats among foreign nations, and replaced by intruders who have no mission from the hierarchy of the church; that the pastors of the people have even been deprived of the distinctive vestments by which they were known to their flocks; that in a monstrous code, rights have been extolled which man cannot enjoy in society, and to which he tacitly renounces, by being born in civilized associations; that, pursuant to those chimerical rights, attempts have been made to abolish, overturn, and confound those real rights which have been transmitted under the protection of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, from generation to generation,

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on, to those venerable classes to which the French nation had, in every respect, the highest obligations; that real property has given way to the name, by seizing the estates of those who had been solemnly invested with them by time, by the laws, and by an uninterrupted possession, a hundred times renewed and confirmed by the true representatives of the nation; and all this under the deceitful colour of an equality of chimerical rights, not existing in fact, and annihilated, if it could for a moment exist, by that variety of character, impressed on all mankind at their birth, by which they share, in very unequal proportions, moral faculties, the very disproportion of which has always determined and will ever determine the ascendancy of genius, strength, patience, industry, and economy, over the opposite qualities, together with all the advantages which may lawfully arise from them, and which may be transferred like every other species of property.

“ Finally, it is necessary that the faithful subjects of his Majesty be informed that, whilst pains are taken to extol the pretended glory and prosperity of the kingdom of France, lately the most flourishing in Europe, there is now no commerce, no circulation of specie or goods, no public force, no justice, no police, and that the philosophical persecutors of all those who are not of their sect, know no bounds to their excesses, which they excite their people to commit, except a satiety of crimes.

“ Who, after this, could be so blind or stupid as to place the least confidence in the promises, and in the insidious assurances made by these tyrants to those nations whom they wish to subdue that they will respect their property, their religion, their rights, their privileges, and their constitution; tyrants, who, since they have usurped the public power and force in France, have trodden under foot, with an effrontery and audacity hitherto unheard of, the most solemn public treaties, all rights, human and divine, and every thing which is held most sacred over all the world; who, the moment they should become masters of one province, would seize, as they have in their own country, the estates of the clergy and the nobility, and the property of the citizens.

“ Once more, having never had any inclination to meddle with the internal government of any neighbouring state, we should not have entered on these afflicting details, relative to objects which are foreign to the government with which we are entrusted, were it not that French writings and French emissaries, and even the recent acts of the new legislature of France, have a tendency to render universal a system of innovation, whether good or bad for the French nation, certainly and decidedly ruinous to the people under government; because it is subversive of all that political organization delineated by a constitution, which

which the love, which the Sovereign has engaged to maintain, and on which the happiness of Belgium has for ages been founded.

“ It was our duty to warn the people of the imminent dangers with which they are threatened. We have laid before them truths which all well-meaning persons will acknowledge to be striking; and they will, of course, use their utmost endeavours to maintain peace and public tranquility within these provinces, and we shall consider those as enemies to the state, and treat them as such, who shall attempt to disturb them.

(Signed)

“ MARIE ALBERT.

(Counterigned)

“ BARON DE FELIZ.”

Done at Brussels, April 29, 1792.

Valenciennes, April 30, at night.

War having been declared against the King of Hungary, the French ministry thought it advisable to over run the Austrian Low Countries with different bodies of troops. One of these under the command of Biron, was directed to present itself before Mons, in order to sound the dispositions of the soldiers, and the inhabitants of the country. A corps of cavalry, consisting of ten squadrons, commanded by M. Theobald Dillon, marshal de camp, received orders to march towards *Tournay*.

Mr. Carl, with a detachment of 1200 men, was to proceed to Furnes. The object of the above movements was to divide the attention of the enemy, and Valenciennes was the place where the troops which the Marechal de Rochambeau had drawn out of the garrisons, was to assemble, in order to sustain the forces under M. Biron.

The unhappy catastrophe that occurred to the troops belonging to M. Dillon, having obliged his corps of cavalry to retire to Lille, all these dispositions were rendered useless.

M. Biron left Valenciennes on the 28th in the morning, took possession of Quievrain that evening, dislodged the Austrians from all the posts which they occupied between that place and Mons, and arrived on the night of the 29th within a short distance of that city.

He then perceived the Austrian army upon the heights, occupying an advantageous position, and appearing more formidable than had been expected.

Nevertheless, M. Biron passed the night between the 29th and 30th, in the presence of the enemy, and took care to inform M. Rochambeau of his situation.

His army appeared to be in the best possible disposition; not withstanding this, he soon learned that a party of the regiment *de la Reine* had retired. He immediately, alone, and unaccompanied,

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set off in pursuit of, and brought them back to his army, which he now found in the utmost agitation.

These fugitives had propagated the news, on their retreat, that the general had gone over to the enemy. The disorder which this false intelligence had thrown the troops into, did not fail to be perceived by the Austrians, who immediately commenced the attack, and M. Biron was forced to retire, although with bravery and firmness on the part of the French, who prevented the enemy from gaining any considerable advantage.

M. Biron attempted to regain the post which he had occupied the night before, near to Quieverain, but this was taken possession of by the enemy, whom he found it impossible to dislodge; he was therefore obliged to push for Valenciennes.

Our loss has not been as yet ascertained; that of the enemy is said to be still more considerable.

The second battalion of the national guards of Paris, and the hussars of Esterhazy, performed prodigies of courage; but the 5th and 6th regiments of dragoons did not behave with equal spirit.

Most of the baggage, artillery, &c. have been saved.

M. le Marechal de Rochambeau, advanced with three regiments, to secure the retreat of the troops.

M. Biron was the last person who entered Valenciennes.

On the 1st day of May the war minister of France announced to the National Assembly, that a detachment of the garrison of Lisle sallied forth on the evening of the 28th ult. in order to proceed towards Tournay. He added, that this detachment encountered the enemy at about three leagues distant from the city, and that the following letters would evince the melancholy issue of that adventure:

Copy of a Dispatch from M. Chaumont, Adjutant-General to M. Rochambeau, dated Lisle, April 29.

“The troops under the command of M. Dillon have been driven back to Lisle, after experiencing the most horrible defeat that is possible to be conceived; one half of the men and horses were killed and disabled on the road, partly through fatigue, and partly by the sword of the enemy.

“M. Daumont got on horseback to reassemble the remains of the second battalion, and the national guards, and to prevent the enemy from pursuing them into the Place d’Armes. They exclaim that they have been betrayed; I am the victim of these unworthy calumnies.”

(A true copy)

“The Marechal ROCHAMBEAU.”

“ P. S. By a verbal report of an officer sent to M. Ro-chambeau, the loss is supposed to be from 260 to 300 men, killed or wounded.”

Such said the minister is the unfortunate event which the enemies of the constitution will not fail to exaggerate: however it is among the number of those which we ought to expect, for war is only a succession of calamities and of good fortune, and it is in the moment of calamity that courage ought chiefly to be displayed; but it is to such cross accidents as may be foreseen when the danger is imminent, and when the consequence may tend to throw the public force into confusion, that the assembly ought, by the most firm measures, immediately to apply a remedy.

It appears (continued the minister of war) that M. Theobald Dillon, marechal de camp, who was equally zealous in the service of his country, and the defence of the constitution, lost his life near to the very city which ought to have protected his defeat; and that he perished by the hands of those very men, for whom, and with whom he had combated. [The assembly here shuddered with indignation.] This cruel event is made known to me by the two following letters:

Note from the Adjutant-General of the Army.

Paris, April 30.

M. Theobald Dillon, marechal de camp, according to the report of an officer of the regiment of chasseurs of Languedoc, was massacred in a barn, to which he had retreated on the insurrection and flight of the troops; he adds, that M. Chaumont, brother of the adjutant-general; M. Berthois, officer of engineers; a priest, and some Austrian chasseurs, who had been taken prisoners, were hanged at Lille.

[The indignation of the assembly was now manifested by a movement of indignation still more violent than the former.]

“ At the departure of this officer the insurrection was not abated.

“ The greatest eulogiums are due to the chasseurs *ci-devant* Languedoc, not only during the action, but also during the subsequent commotion.

“ The ADJUTANT-GENERAL of the ARMY.”

Copy of a Note from M. Daumont to Marechal Ro-chambeau, at Valenciennes, April 30, received at One o'Clock in the Morning.

“ M. le Marechal, M. Chaumont has given you an account of the unhappy affair of this morning; every thing is in a most terrible

terrible ferment here; I am making every effort to re-establish a calm, and I hope to be happy enough to succeed.

" M. Berthois is dead; we have not as yet received an exact return of our loss. The battalions and squadrons are so fatigued, that it will be impossible for them to march to-morrow, nor perhaps next day, to join you. Send me fresh orders. Would to God my power and abilities equalled my patriotism.

" I understand that Dillon is dead."

(Copy conformable to the original.)

(Signed)

" ALEX. BERTHIER."

On the third of May the minister of war laid before the National Assembly the following letter :

Letter from M. de Biron to the Minister of War.

Valenciennes, May 2.

" I have the honour to inform you, that in consequence of the orders addressed to me, on the part of the King, I have been employed at Quievrechain near Quieverain, with the division, the return of which I annex. I made myself master of Quieverain without opposition on the 29th, and left there a battalion of national guards, and I marched towards Mons in three columns, that to the right passing by Quievrechain, with orders to join me towards Orun, that on the left passing by Crepin, to join at the same place. I reached Bouffu without meeting any one, except some travellers, who told me of a great movement of the Austrian troops. The advanced guard of the hussars were fired upon by the Heulans and Tirolian chassieurs, at the end of the village of Bouffu; several hussars were killed, and M. Caffaneve, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of hussars, having had his horse shot, was taken prisoner. I dispersed the heulans by some discharges of cannon, and continued the march. I found a more considerable body before the barrier of Orun, supported by a body of chassieurs, who fired upon me for a long time, and whom I several times silenced by discharges of artillery. I could see clearly that the heights before Mons were occupied by a very considerable body of troops, and that of Borteaumont, by which I was to attack Mons, appeared to be entrenched and furnished with batteries. This position, of the greatest advantage, it was easy to defend by fresh troops, against troops fatigued, and not finding in mine, worn out by the heat, all the strength indispensable to such an attack, I thought it advisable to give them a little repose, and to wait for some positive intelligence from Mons, which I had reason to expect. The enemy that I could see was more numerous than me, made some manœuvres, which announced the intention to turn my right. I employed

employed myself to prevent this, and to strengthen it by several detachments advantageously posted. I took a position, and M. Berthier, as well as myself, thought that that of the Austrians was unattackable, and that I could not attempt it without endangering the loss of all the party under my orders; but he thought, as well as me, that I could wait without danger the news of the attack towards Tournay. About five in the evening the enemy attacked a part of my right at the village of Vannes, guarded by four companies of grenadiers, and a piquet of cavalry. M. Gigault, captain of the 49th regiment, manœuvred with equal skill and firmness, and repulsed the Austrians with the loss of 10 or 12 men, and had himself but one man wounded. Some of my posts were continually changing fire with the Tirolian chassieurs, but in this I did not lose a man—I killed several with discharges of artillery. At length I received information from Marechal de Rochambeau of the defeat of the body of French troops sent towards Tournay, and I determined forthwith to retire, but this I could not do, as the troops were exhausted with fatigue and want of refreshments. We had not been able to prevent the soldiers, harrassed by the heat, to throw away almost all their bread. The horses had had no forage. I had not been joined by the moveable hospital that was destined for me. I saw the innumerable dangers of a retreat by night, undertaken by exhausted troops before fresh troops. I determined therefore to give some hours of repose to mine, and to try to procure some refreshment both for the men and horses. Towards ten o'clock at night I saw the 5th and 6th regiments of dragoons mounted on horseback, without having given any order, and going with precipitation towards the left of the camp, where they formed in a column. I pursued them with the utmost speed, and demanded the reason of a movement so extraordinary.—I was carried along with the column in trying to stop them, and which were in a quick trot, and crying out that they were betrayed. I went with them more than a league, without being able to make them obey me. I succeeded at length—I drew them up in a plain between Bouffu and Orun. I made them ashamed of this disgraceful conduct, and except about 30 or 40 I led them back to the camp. M. Dampierre had kept the greatest part of his regiment, the 5th dragoons. The deserters went all the way to Valenciennes, crying, that they had been betrayed, and that I had deserted to Mons. I cannot penetrate the mystery of this alarm; I only know, without knowing why, that the dragoons had been induced to mount by saying, that there was a large body of the cavalry of the enemy in the camp. The 30th at break of day, I began my retreat; and I gave the command of my rear guard to Major-general Rochambeau

chambeau, and under his orders to M. Froissy, colonel of the 3d regiment.

“ I cannot speak too highly of the firm and intelligent conduct of M. Rochembeau ; and I find some consolation in saying publicly, that I owe to him and M. Froissy the happiness of having secured my retreat, as far as Quievrain, without loss. I arrived at Quieverain with the head of the rear-guard, and there found M. Fleury; I left him there, and I conducted the army to their ancient Camp at Quievrechain. They had not all arrived there, when the battalion or national guards, who covered Quieverain, were dispossessed of their post by the Heulans, who came up within pistol-shot of the part of their camp. The troops there began to fire, but in a very disorderly manner, and without effect, the Heulans retiring. M. Fleury marched the 68th regiment to take possession of Quievrain, but notwithstanding his intrepidity having his horse shot under him, and wounded himself, he could not accomplish his purpose. The disorder increased in the line, and the soldiers who was out of the action wished to return to Valenciennes. I believed that the only means of not losing the camp was to attack Quievrain a second time, and to keep it at any price. I led myself the 49th regiment of infantry, which after prodigies of valour made themselves masters of Quieverain, and drove out the enemy, but it was necessary to give them succour to keep it. I had then reason to hope that I was able to preserve my camp, and that we should not have the grief to abandon it to the enemy, and I hastened to find two battalions of infantry to conduct to Quievrain; but I found them so exhausted with fatigue that it was impossible for me to carry them, and I returned to find the brave 49th regiment, with which I returned to Valenciennes after all the army — It was thought that what had happened at Lisle might happen at Valenciennes. I thought it my duty to employ my remaining strength to avert these great evils, and to withdraw myself from the justice, or the fury of the people and the soldiery, all the anger of whom was directed against the general officers.

“ I went directly and alone to the Hotel-de-Ville, to unite myself with the administrative bodies to maintain order, that which we could scarcely hope to do. I received consoling marks of esteem from the inhabitants, and, but with much difficulty, I obtained attention by the troops. It was of the utmost importance to relieve Valenciennes from the number of troops that had taken shelter there, some of which would not withdraw. We have succeeded, and every thing is quiet. The enemy has lost by the firing more than we have done, but we have lost a number by hunger and fatigue.

I learnt

“ I learnt on entering Valenciennes, that marshal de Rochambeau had posted himself, with some squadrons, on the heights of Ste. Sauve, to favour our retreat, and that he had established his quarters at Ste. Sauve. I went there to receive his orders, and was directed by him to clear Valenciennes; the previous steps that I had taken to that, being approved of by him.

“ Our camp was pillaged by the Heulans—Our camp-equipage and effects were lost. I shall remain with M. Rochambeau as long as he shall think me useful. I have nothing to reproach myself with, and I do not believe that any one will attack my conduct—But if there shall be excited the smallest suspicion of blame, I shall demand eagerly to be tried by a court martial, and at any rate, I cannot continue to serve but as a soldier, as long as my country shall continue in danger.

“ I shall have the honour to give you a more particular account of our loss than I have yet been able to ascertain. I ought to tell you, that I found the country intirely declared against us—not one patriot gave us intelligence—not one joined us—not one deserter came in. Our misfortunes ought not to hinder me from doing justice to the valour and judgment of M. Beauhornois, whose indefatigable activity was very useful to me. I must also give the most favourable account of Messrs. Froissac and Pontivace, as well as of Messrs. Preiffa and Levasseur, the latter of whom is wounded. M. Dubuch, an officer of artillery, of the highest character, is slightly wounded in in arm.

“ I do not know a battalion of grenadiers braver, firmer, or who submit to the orders they receive with more promptitude, than the second of the department of Paris.

“ I wished to have given you a more regular account, but I am exhausted with fatigue and chagrine.

“ Messrs. Chartres and Montpelier (sons of the Duke of Orleans) went with me as volunteers, and stood for the first time firing seriously, which they did with the greatest steadiness,

(Signed)

BIRON.

“ P. S. This letter, began yesterday, was interrupted by the necessity of employing myself in maintaining the peace of the city.”

After the reading of this letter, the minister at war renewed his demands that the Assembly should make the most effectual provision for the maintenance of order. He said, that when it was determined to make war, it was resolved in council to penetrate into Brabant.

1. That

1. That the war might be withdrawn from a frontier but 50 leagues from Paris.

2. To prevent the assembling of the force of the enemy, and to act before they had made their plans of operations, fixed their magazines, and taken their ground.

3. To second the ardour, of the troops who were eager to make the attack,

4. To profit from the dispositions of the people of Brabant, who according to all report were anxious to second us, and to chase from their frontiers the troops that had forced us to arm.

This was the ground upon which the ministers determined unanimously to make the attack. Though the troops in truth wanted many of their stores, it was not thought right to retard them in their march; and it was thought at the same time that the want of discipline, so necessary to regular action, was not an obstacle that ought to stop their motions, as if it were true that the country was dissatisfied, discipline was not necessary to their success. The same argument applied to the want of knowledge of the troops, and to the want of experience in some of the generals, as a regular war was not the object. The movements of the army of M. Lœckner were to be merely defensive, because that frontier is opposite to states with whom we are not at war. The army of M. la Fayette was to be detached towards Givet, and the general himself to attack Namur, in concert with M. de Rochambeau. M. Dillon, in whose detachment there appeared the same disorder as in that of M. de Biron, and of which he became the unhappy victim, was ordered only to make a false attack upon Tournay. He ought not to have had infantry, and his instructions were not to risk an engagement. He has apparently been forced to part from his orders, in taking battalions who did not know the danger of their inconsiderate zeal, or who, perhaps, were excited by traitors, seduced by the enemy, to cry out treason, and to put the army into disorder."

After this speech of the Minister at war, a debate took place on the very wretched and inflammatory libellers, who instigated the public mind to every outrage; and two of the miscreant journals, the *Ami du Roi*, and the *Ami du Peuple*, of which Royou and Marat are the conductors, were ordered to be prosecuted.

Next M. Dumourier, the Minister for foreign Affairs, read the following Letter from M. Rochambeau to the King;

SIRE,

Valenciennes, April 29.

"I am greatly concerned to announce to you the ill success of the advanced guard, which I had been compelled by the orders

orders of the Ministers, and the instructions which accompanied them, unanimously determined on in council, to march the 29th of this month, into the territories of the King of Hungary.—The difference of the instructions hereto annexed, one of the 17th, which I had seen before my departure, and which I brought with me, the other of the 22d, which I received 36 hours after my arrival, will prove to your Majesty the temerity and want of judgment in that measure. I had only to obey these positive orders, and I had at least the merit, as well as they who have seconded me, as your Majesty will perceive in the detail of my journal, of having removed the obstacles, which this commencement of the campaign, fifteen days sooner than had been previously agreed upon, presented in all the details of administration. M. Biron, after taking possession of Quieverain, on the 28th, advanced on the morning of the 29th to present himself before Mons, *the orders and instructions of your ministers having been addressed to him directly for that purpose.* I subjoin the letter which he sent me.—M. Bertier, an eye witness, will explain particulars to your Majesty. He has informed me, that M. Biron intended to fall back in the evening towards Quieverain. M. Dillon left Lisle on the evening of the 28th, with the intention of appearing before Tournay early on the 29th. M. D'Aumont having received decisive directions from your Majesty's ministers, will doubtless inform you of what has this day passed. I can only send you a copy of the letter which I have received from M. Chaumont, the Adjutant-General. At the same juncture, M. Delbeacq was to set out from Dunkirk to present himself before Furnes, from which quarter I have as yet received no intelligence. Not to trouble your Majesty with details, I preserve minutes of the ministerial letters, each succeeding one more urgent than the former; of those particularly from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, both to me and to M. Biron, which will prove that my representations have not been attended to for a moment, and that whatever information I gave on the subject of *my not seeing any disposition on the part of the Austrian troops to come over to us*, these gentlemen have thought proper to give credit in preference to other letters. M. Biron, who has been in view of them for two days, advises that he has seen *neither emigrant nor deserter, nor even Brabantine emigrants.*

“ It follows, Sire, from all the late measures, that if your ministers, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs especially, wish to play the whole game, and I must be only a piece to be moved at will, crossed, and yet obliged to stand all the hazards of the charge committed by your Majesty to my care; after the repeated and

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contradictory

contradictory messages which I have received from your council, I entreat your Majesty to accept of my resignation, and to permit me to go and continue the course which my health requires, and to remain in the neighbourhood of this city, whence I can, on the first moment of any place being menaced by the enemy, throw myself into it, and defend the pallisadoes as a soldier with my life, against all the enemies of the state, according to the oath I have taken. I am, &c.

“ P. S. M. Biron, by a second aid-de-camp, informs me verbally, that after having well examined his position he shall pass the night in it, and retire to-morrow, if the enemy persist in keeping their forces on the heights before Mons.”

The Minister then read a second letter from M. Rochambeau to the King:

“ SIRE,

“ I request your Majesty to be pleased to cause the letter I had the honour to write to you to be printed, if you have not sent it to the National Assembly. I consider its being made public as indispensable to the good of the service of the state, and of your Majesty, which are inseparable.

I am, &c.

“ P. S. M. Biron has been retiring since six in the morning to Quiéverain, in good order. We hear the report of the cannon of the rear guard. The columns are marching in the best order, according to my information, from Quiéverain.

“ *Ten at night.* I am sorry to inform your Majesty, that this corps has just re-entered Valenciennes, after suffering nearly the same misfortunes as that from Lisle. I am marching to the heights of Saint-Sauve, with the few troops I have here to cover their retreat. I have no means of encamping them, as we have no more tents. I leave then Valenciennes, which they crowd, and go with some troops to occupy the heights of the burgh of St. Sauve, on the road to Mons. I have seen nothing like what I now see; and I hope your Majesty will relieve me from seeing such fights long. All these disasters will destroy confidence; nothing is now talked of but treachery. With respect to discipline, it is no more thought of. In this crisis the troops, it is true, had much to suffer; but I must leave to M. Biron the narrative of these melancholy details. I have lost, Sire, the confidence of the army. Your Majesty knows whether or not I have deserved it, and *whether or not I am the cause of this infernal stroke.* M. Biron was the actor of it, according to orders from your council. Under every point of view it is indispensable to relieve me as soon as possible. The Generals who are here are in the same situation. (Signed)

“ ROCHAMBEAU.”

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The Assembly determined that the pieces read by M. Dumourier should be laid on the table.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs read extracts from several dispatches from the French Ministers at Foreign courts, to the following effect :

London, April 28.—The care of the minister to keep up the price of the funds, and the general disposition of the nation, assures us of the neutrality of England.

Wertemburgh.—The Duke has refused to furnish 8,000 troops, which the Court of Vienna applied for, with a promise to protect his states from invasion.

Munich, May 1.—The most positive assurance of a perfect neutrality.

Stockholm, April 20.—The new government has resolved to declare to all the courts of Europe, that Sweden adopts a pacific system. Nothing is to be apprehended, but that Russia should require the execution of the treaty entered into with her.

Spain.—The conduct of M. d'Aranda is more and more favourable to the French. Reparation is now made to such of them as had been injured by the former minister.

The relations of the unfortunate Dillon have published the following account of his death :

Relation of the Assassination of M. Theobald Dillon, Marechal de Camp, at Lisle, on the 29th of April 1792. By an Eye-Witness.

“ I dined at General Theobald Dillon's the day of the expedition to Tournay. In the course of the conversation, he many times testified his confidence in the good disposition and courage of the troops he commanded. Although I had been for these fifteen years his intimate friend, it was not until after the orders had been given to the troops, that I knew he was to march the same evening.

“ He quitted me in the afternoon to go to General Daumont; at half past seven o'clock the troops were under arms; they had the best appearance possible; a little before nine o'clock he went out at the head of the army, by the gate of Fiffe. The next day (Sunday, April 29th) at nine o'clock, I went to General Daumont to ask him if there was any impropriety in my going to view the army, and if it was not necessary to have a passport; he replied in the negative.

“ Madame Dillon testified great uneasiness for her brother, but he assured me that it was without foundation; and from the orders the army had received, an engagement was not likely.

“ I mounted on horseback, and departed by the gate of Fiffe,

in order to see M. Dillon. At a place near the town I met four dragoons, who as soon as they saw me, made signs by their sabres for me to return; crying that all was lost:—That the army had been betrayed, and cut in pieces. I begged them not to spread the alarm in the town, but first to acquaint General Daumont and the principal officers of it,—They soon left me behind. I returned into town with a man without a uniform, who related that his comrade was killed by his side: with him was an officer of the national guards, on a horse belonging to one of the artillery carriages, who also cried that all was lost, betrayed, and cut to pieces; but he could not give any detail of particulars.

“ I took my domestic with me, and returned again on foot to the gate of Fiffe. The street was full of soldiers and national guards, who impeded the passage of the curassiers, who began to enter in crowds with great disorder. The Swiss of Diesback, who guarded the gate, had erected some works, and stationed patrols on the outside; in the mean time the cavalry entered, raising the cry of treason, Aristocrate, and *à la lantern*.

“ The confusion now became general; many, without knowing who commanded, demanded the head of Rochambeau; I then went to the suburbs; the infantry now presented themselves, but in small numbers; the road was covered with cavaliers, all crying treason. Not one wounded, not even a horse. I asked many officers and soldiers news of the General; not one could give me any account of him. An officer of the curassiers said, that he was surprised to hear me ask news of a General who had led them to butchery. The Deputy Marshal General (M. DE V——) said that M. Dillon had given him orders to charge the cavalry. As soon he perceived the enemy, he found them retiring, and in general confusion. The soldiers informed me it would be imprudent to advance further; that the Austrian hussars pressed them closely; I stopped some time and advanced again. I had not yet heard the report of a fusée, no seen a hussar, nor any person that had seen one. The road was now crowded with carts of baggage and peasantry, who fled with their moveables into the town. I again returned, the confusion was now very great; the cry of *lantern*, of Rochambeau, of traitor, aristocrate; and noises from every side. The infantry now began to enter, and brought in three or four Austrians (one in a grey uniform, striped with green, and the others in round frocks). An hundred steps from the gate, they hung an officer of engineers, M. BERTHOIS, suspended by the feet with cords. I saw more than twenty shots through his body, and a horse grenadier, as I was told, gave him a cut on the head with his sabre, and fired a pistol at his breast. Then the national guards

guards and infantry took possession of him. I saw one of the Austrian prisoners killed, and two or three who were dispatched, trampled under feet, and their bodies run through.

"I heard the ridicule and the barbarous shouts of the soldiers, and saw them amuse themselves in striking the dead bodies with their hands. They were crowded in a wheel-barrow, with the officer of engineers. I shudder at the sight. The municipal officers arrived with a cart, in which they placed the dead bodies, and continued to abuse them. It is two o'clock, and I have not been able to hear the least news of the general, or the action. Not a wounded man has yet appeared, and, among all the soldiers, not one seems to have been in a battle, except a foot soldier, who had received some shot through his hat.

"I remained in the street to observe the dispositions of the people. About four o'clock I went toward Siffé gate. In the entrance of the street the agitation was great, and the howling most terrible. At last I heard the cry of "He's coming, he's coming, to the lantern." I asked, with a trembling voice, Who? Dillon, they answered, the traitor, the Aristocrate; we are going to tear him to pieces, he and all that belong to him.

"Rochambeau must also perish, and all the nobility in the army. Dillon is coming in a cabriolet; his thigh is already broken, let's go and finish him. The cabriolet soon appeared; the general was in it, without a hat, with a calm and firm look; he was escorted by four horse guards; he had hardly passed through the gate, when more than a hundred bayonets were thrust into the cabriolet, amidst the most horrible shouts! The horse guards made use of their sabres, it is true, but I don't know whether it was to defend themselves, or to protect the general. The man who drove the cabriolet disappeared, the horse plunged, and no bayonets had yet been fatal, when a shot was fired into the carriage, and I think this killed M. Dillon, for I never saw him move afterwards; he was taken from the carriage and thrown into the street, when they trampled upon his body, and ran a thousand bayonets through it, I neither heard from him complaints or groans.

"Between seven and eight o'clock I went to the market-place, where a great fire was lighted, in which his body was thrown. French soldiers danced round the burning body of their general, this barbarous scene was intermixed with the most savage howlings. Parties of Swiss were passing and repassing in good order during this atrocious scene, with the greatest indignation painted in their countenance. The sister of the general was also threatened; she changed her abode four times, being warned of her danger; nobody dared to shelter her in their houses, however the night was passed in tranquillity.

"I have

"I have been lucky enough to save her from these cannibals, and the next day sat off for Paris.

"This is what I have seen, and what I am ready to attest before any tribunal.

"N. B. The original of this has been deposited at a notary's, and a faithful copy delivered to the National Assembly, signed by the author. If any persons should doubt the authenticity of the above, they may address themselves to James Migneret, Jacobstreet, Paris, or the family of M. Dillon, who engage to answer them."

The following is the Flemish Account of the preceeding Actions between the French and the Austrians.

Brussels, April 30.

The declaration of war which the National Assembly of France resolved to make against the King of Hungary, had hardly been declared when we received advice from our frontiers, that Marechal de Rochambeau had assembled the troops from different garrisons to form an army, with which he intended to enter this country.

Orders were immediately issued to all who were in the different towns of the provinces to leave them, and repair to the place of general rendezvous which had been appointed. The first of these had not arrived at the rendezvous before the advanced posts of Mons had announced the arrival of a body of French troops on the 27th, who had marched that day from Valenciennes towards Quievrechain and Crepin.

Lieutenant-general baron de Beaulieu reported, that on the 28th he had observed near these places several regiments of French infantry, and a regiment of dragoons forming an advanced guard, behind which there was a heavy train of artillery, followed by a considerable body of troops, which induced the said general to remove towards Boussut, the advanced posts he held in Quieverain. Intelligence was received from the other side, that a detached corps from Lisle had marched by Morquain towards Tournay. News soon after arrived, that this corps, after having obliged the picquets of the Tyrolean arquebuseers, posted at Morquain, to retire to this village, were advanced on the 29th at day break to this place, but that Major-general Comte d'Happoncourt, having marched a battalion of the regiment de Clerfayt, four companies of Dalton's, two companies of de Ligne, and four squadrons of de la Tours dragoons to meet them, and these having fired several pieces of cannon, the French had retreated in a cowardly manner, and had re-passed our frontiers with so much precipitation, that it was not possible for our troops to keep up with them, and they were only able
to

to take four pieces of artillery, some provisions, baggage and implements for intrenching. The subjoined reports of this General, contains some further details of this affair.

Extract from the Report of General Comte d'Happencourt to Field-Marshal Baron de Bender, dated Tournay, April 29, 1792.

"The enemy's column were more numerous in cavalry than infantry, and were above three thousand when they came from Lille.

"Our troops being conducted to take the enemy in flank, and having fired about a dozen cannon, before our infantry could make a single discharge, and before the cavalry were advanced sufficiently to protect them, the enemy took to flight. We pursued them in the greatest order, with drums beating, quite to the frontiers.

"They left on the field, which they had abandoned, two dragoons and a number of horses killed; about forty of their soldiers, of different regiments, have been made prisoners.

"We have had none killed, wounded, or missing; and the three chasseurs, who in the beginning were taken prisoners by the enemy's dragoons, but whom they left behind in their precipitate retreat, have returned to their colours,

"All the baggage, warlike stores, bread, forage, and ten horses, have been divided among the soldiers and the peasants.

"I have this moment entered this town with the troops, and all is perfectly tranquil."

Extract from the Report of General Baron de Beauleau to Field-Marshal Baron de Bender, dated April 29.

"This morning, about half past nine, the enemy coming from Quieverain and Quievrechain, presented themselves in a number of columns of infantry and cavalry, extending in the form of a half-moon round my front. I only had about 1800 infantry, and between 1400 and 1500 cavalry, with ten pieces (chiefly three pounders) of cannon; and thus I was greatly inferior to the enemy; but the position of my front insured me, and especially the good will which the officers and soldiers unanimously testified.

"The French begun their attack on Bouffut, with which they were suffered to go on; I drew in my advanced posts, which were extended too far to be supported, as the ground was not so good as that I occupied.

"After all the dispositions were made, I waited tranquilly for the enemy, but they did not come up; for when they had repassed Bouffut, and attempted to form to advance, our brave chasseurs

chasseurs de le Loup prevented them. These chasseurs were spread in the village of Quaregnon, which presented a ravine along my front with the houses and bushes, and though the French troops fired about eighty cannon to dislodge them, nothing could move them from their post. All this affair happened between the village of Quaregnon and Jemappe on our right, and Frameries before our left.

"The enemy not being able to pierce on this side, turned to the left, which is only a plain, with a small wood placed opposite the angle of our front.

"They shewed themselves in great numbers on our left; but having seen the cavalry which I placed on the flank, they confined themselves to making some manœuvres at the distance of three thousand paces, and then imperceptibly retired towards Bouffut and its wood, though however, they still remained in sight.

"Our chasseurs killed twenty of the enemy on the place, and amongst them were two cannoneers, a horse of a Lieutenant Colonel of French hussars, the rider wounded and made prisoner, and probably as many others were wounded.

"The French were in number eleven, twelve, or thirteen thousand men. It is easily perceived in every instance, that they are the aggressors.

"The enemy, who did not push farther that day, on the 30th began to march at day break to attack Marshal Beaulieu, who, on this side, having been reinforced with two battalions, had advanced part of his troops; he had a short engagement with them, an account of the most essential part of which is subjoined in the report of this brave General, and which terminated in the route of the French corps, who, at eleven in the morning had already re-passed our frontiers on their return to Valenciennes."

Extract from the Report of Lieutenant-General de Beaulieu, to Marshal Bender, dated the 30th of April, from the Windmill, at Bouffut.

"I send you my Adjutant Reichel, a witness of the events of this day. At three in the morning the enemy attacked the right body of my army, at the village of Jamappe. The captain of Thierris's chasseurs informed me, that the enemy at the same time were marching towards Frameries, where he was with his chasseurs.

"I went immediately to the left flank, and saw a strong French column—a number of platoons of cavalry preceding them. I took my resolutions instantly; two battalions of
Szaray,

Sztaray, two 6 pounders and two obusers, had arrived to my assistance, and I immediately formed the flank, of which I yesterday spoke, respecting Frameries, and nearly *two hundred French chevaliers (emigrants) had come and placed themselves near us*; besides which, I had got a 6 pounder and a howitzer in reserve. With this force, I suddenly marched up to the French column, which immediately withdrew; then ordered the Captain of Thierry's chasseurs to quit Frameries, and advance and force the village of Paturage, where there was a number of French infantry, and where I would support him: this was accordingly done. Meanwhile, my left wing was extended toward the village of Paturage.

"The French, who had remarked, that by this means I should take them in flank and behind, whilst they kept firing their canon at Quaregnon on my right, which was at Jemappe, were at the same instant removing all their cannon; which was a considerable number (for they wished to take Mons), and were sending the artillery away during my march, and whilst Captain Thierry advanced to the village, and was driving before him the chasseurs, he found all the French flying to save themselves.

"I then formed an avant guard to pursue them, of which I gave the command to Colonel Fisher, and followed with a battalion of de Briey's grenadiers, two divisions of Murray, and a considerable number of cavalry. I at the same time advanced some troops, not to lose the advantages I had; I took from the enemy three pieces of cannon, and a number of prisoners. The French army commanded by M. de Biron took to flight—five French four pounders are now in my possession; besides a number of prisoners; and we may have killed more than 250 French. My troop is in high spirits, and ready to march wherever I lead them, with an astonishing courage, and I cannot praise sufficiently the officers and soldiers whom I had under my command on this day.

"These two first successes of the troops of the King of Hungary inspire with the greatest joy all his faithful subjects of this country, and crown with glory the brave officers and soldiers who have fought.

"The troops coming from distant parts are, in consequence speedily advancing towards the places of their destination, and there is every reason to believe they are equally eager to be distinguished as those who have shewn their bravery on this occasion, and that they will contribute to repel the enterprises of the French, of which a second army, commanded by M. de la Fayette, formed on the Meuse, appears to meditate an offensive operation on this side.

H

Proclamation

Proclamation and Notice, from the Commandant-General of the Army of his Apostolic Majesty, to the Austrian Netherlands.

“ 1st. All citizens and inhabitants are desired to maintain perfect harmony, order, and tranquillity.

“ 2dly. If there are some mal-contents that excite disturbances against the subjects, attached to the sovereign, either by their conduct, or conversation, the soldiers have the strictest orders to make use of their swords and bayonets, and repel by force every assembling mob, if not dispersed on the first requisition.

“ 3dly. In case any persons guilty of the above crimes are arrested, the military have orders to act immediately in the manner the laws of war prescribed against every enemy, without the arrested persons being able to claim their usual judges. The military shall look upon such arrested persons as public enemies of the sovereign and state, and in case of urgency, the execution called *Stant-recht* shall take place against them.

“ 4thly. If such like excesses are committed in places where there is no garrison nor troops, the evil-minded must not flatter themselves that the preparations of an enemy that cannot frighten us, will prevent from detaching sufficient bodies of troops against them whether in towns, boroughs, or villages, to repress them, and to use against them all the means which the laws of war permit to employ against enemies in towns, boroughs, and villages.

“ 5thly. This advertisement will be published in both languages of the country, that nobody may pretend ignorance, and that the peaceful citizens may abstain from assembling, and be sheltered, in case the soldiers should be compelled to fire, unless they prefer arresting on the spot such enemies and disturbers of public tranquillity, and deliver them into the hands of the military, who will protect the honest and peaceful citizens.

(Signed)

“ BARON BENDER, Marshal.”

Bruxelles the 29th of April 1792.

Proclamation.

“ His majesty, seeing the state of war with France cannot tolerate in his country other subjects of that kingdom than such as fly the persecutions of the party that has usurped all these powers; he declares, that all the French who are in the provinces of the Low Countries, and who have not made themselves known by an act in form to the commissioners of the French emigrants, established for this purpose here in Brussels, viz. those who are actually in this city, within forty-eight hours from

from the publication of the present, and those that are in other towns or places of these provinces, within the space of a week, are to quit the states of the domination of his Majesty, upon pain of being made prisoners of war, after the expiration of said term.

Given in Brussels the 28th April, 1792.

The following is the Account given in the London Gazette of the 12th of May, of the preceding Actions between the Austrians and French.

Brussels, May 4. It appears, by the account published by this government, that on the 29th ult. at day-break, a body of French troops had advanced near Tournay, when Major-General Count d'Happoncourt marched one battalion of the regiment of Clerfayt, four companies of that of D'Alton, two companies of that De Ligne, and four squadrons of the dragoons of La Tour, to oppose them; and, after the Austrians had fired some pieces of cannon at them, they retreated precipitately beyond the Austrian frontiers. The loss of the French on this occasion consists of two dragoons and several horses killed, forty soldiers of different regiments taken prisoners, four pieces of artillery, some provisions, baggage, and implements for intrenching. On the side of the Austrians there are none either killed, wounded or missing.

That, on the same day, about half past nine o'clock, A. M. another body of French troops, under the command of M. de Biron, having entered the Austrian territory by Quieverain, and advanced beyond Bouffut, were opposed by Lieutenant General Beaulieu, at the head of 1800 infantry, and between 14 and 1500 cavalry, and obliged, with the loss of 20 men killed, and several wounded, to retire towards Bouffut and the forest of Bouffut, where, however, they remained in sight of the Austrians.

That, on the day following, at day-break, the French put themselves in motion to attack Lieutenant-General Beaulieu, who had, in the mean time, been reinforced by two battalions, and who advanced part of his troops to meet the French. A short action took place, which ended in the compleat rout of the latter, who lost, on this occasion, about 250 men killed, a considerable number taken prisoners, and five pieces of cannon. The French, by eleven o'clock the same morning, had already repassed the Austrian frontiers, and retreated towards Valenciennes.

ARMY OF ROCHAMBEAU.

Journal of the Army of M. le Marechal de Rochambeau.

" I have received the King's orders, dated the 15th of April, to form, between the 1st and 11th of May, three camps; the first of 18,000 men at Valenciennes; the second of 5000 men at Maubeuge; the third of from 3000 to 4000 men at Dunkirk.

" War was declared on the 20th; the ministers retarded my departure till the 21st; and I arrived on the 22d at Valenciennes, carrying those orders, in the execution of which I have not lost a moment.

" On the 24th I received by a courier, the unanimous instructions of the cabinet, and the King's orders, contained in the dispatches of M. de Grave and Dumourier. These instructions ordered me to place under the command of M. Biron a body of troops, with the name of an advanced guard, or first line, composed of ten battalions and ten squadrons, destined to appear on the 30th before Mons.

" A body of ten squadrons, under the command of a Camp Marshal, was also to present itself at the same time before Tournay; and a detachment of 1200 men was to leave the cantonment at Furnes for Dunkirk.

[This journal then proceeds to relate some other preparatory circumstances, not interesting, and mentions, that during the march of M. Biron towards Mons, the French Princes, Louis Phillipe and Antoine Phillipe, sons of M. D'Orleans, marched at the head of the troops in the attack of several villages occupied by the enemy, and shewed both the coolness and bravery of experienced soldiers.]

" On the 28th, at six o'clock in the morning, ten thousand men took post near Quieverain. At two o'clock in the afternoon the posts in front of the camp were taken; and at three some hussars were at Quieverain, where they occupied the bridge.

" The Hullands began to leave the village, and as they were supported by about eighty soldiers, a corps of hussars and a battalion of infantry were detached from the camp to pursue them.

" After taking possession of Quieverain, and placing all the posts, an officer and a trumpet were sent to join the nearest of the Hullands, and to proclaim war. The latter, however, continually retired; and, as it was impossible to speak to them, the officer and trumpet returned."

The sequel of the journal relates, that M. Rochambeau visited himself the advanced posts; passed in the front of the line, and was saluted every where by the most lively cries of "*Vive le Nation;*"

le Nation ; Vive le Marechal de Rochambeau." He then told M. Biron to execute his orders, and returned to Valenciennes.

On the 29th, at six in the morning, the army left the camp at Queverain. At Bouffut the advanced guards were checked; M. De Cayanove, Lieutenant-colonel of hussars of the third regiment, was taken prisoner, after having his horse killed under him, fifteen men were killed, or wounded, and the army continued its march.

The retreat of M. de Biron from Mons, and that of M. Dillon, from Tournay, are then related, but with no new circumstances.

ARMY OF LA FAYETTE.

Letter from M. de la Fayette to the War Minister.

" Givet, May 2, 1792.—Fourth Year of Liberty.

" SIRE,

" Since my departure from Metz, you have received my demands; I owe you a perfect account of my conduct. M. Dumas's aid-du-camp brought me the new instructions of the council, on the 24th at night. The change of time and place, made it necessary to use efforts which were the more difficult, that we were without many of the necessary means, and were obliged to carry those which we had to the distance of 56 leagues. The 25th was spent in getting 38 pieces of cannon ready, which, thanks to the activity of M. Risseau, was done in 24 hours. During the same time, we also collected the necessary number of horses; and in this respect, the zeal of the administrative body, of the municipality, and of the citizens, abundantly supplied our wants. We procured also stores of shoes, and other necessary articles.

" On the 26th I sent off, under the orders of M. de Narbonne, camp marechal, the artillery, with some companies and a half of the regiment of Auxonne, two companies and a half of the volunteers of Moselle, the ninth battalion of light infantry, the second companies of grenadiers of the 17th and 71st regiments, which were joined at Damvillers by those of the 99th regiment, and of the second battalion of Ardennes. The third regiment of horse chasseurs set out also by a longer route. The 2d regiment of hussars at Movon; the 2d of dragoons at Verdun; the 12th at Stenai; the 55th of infantry at Montmedi; and successively all the troops in the neighbourhood of Givet received orders to march immediately.

" You directed me, Sir, to be at Givet on the 30th, and the fear of missing the rendezvous, upon which M. Rochambeau had

had framed his plan, induced me to repair here by forced marches. It may appear extraordinary, that the convoy of artillery and the troops under the order of M. Narbonne had performed a march of 56 leagues, frequently through bad roads, and under excessive heat, in the short space of five days. Such success was impossible, without the union of all personal endeavours, on the part of this general, with the zeal of his co-operators and the ardour of the troops. The rest of the troops were equally exact to the rendezvous, and their fatigues, as well as wants, appeared to afflict myself alone.

"It is the same, Sir, in our situation, at the camp of Rancennes, where we want many necessary articles, but where no person complains.

"On the 29th in the morning our patrols drove those of the enemy; the 30th, under their colonel, M. Lallemande with the 11th regiment of horse chasseurs, marched to Bouvines, half way to Namur, where two or three Austrian hussars were killed and four taken.

"On the 1st of May, M. de Gouvion, camp mareschal, took post at Bouvines, with an advanced guard of 3000 men. I had learned, the evening before, that M. Dillon and M. Biron had met; I have since received a letter from M. de Biron, announcing his return to Valenciennes, as well as the dispatches, by which you inform me of the atrocities committed at Lisle.

"The infamous conduct towards the prisoners at war requires an exemplary punishment; it is not the enemy which demands it, it is the French army. Our universal indignation authorises me to say, that brave soldiers will become unwilling to fight, if the enemy, when conquered, is to be abandoned to cowardly cannibals. Since the news of the army of the north, I have waited in camp at Rancennes for the articles indispensably necessary to the movement, as well as to the preservation of the troops. My advanced guard continues at Bouvines.

"M. de Laumoy, whom I have the advantage to have, at the head of *etat major*; that part of this *etat*, which has rejoined the army, and M. Petiet, chief commissary, rendered me the greatest services in the sudden operations, which the instructions, arrived on the 24th, made necessary, not only for the corps, which I command in person, but for the whole army. The citizens, on all sides, endeavour to second the ardour of the troops."

Adresse

*Address of M. de la Fayette to his Army upon their March,
May 1.*

“SOLDIERS of the COUNTRY,

“The legislative body, and the King, in the name of the French people, have declared war. Since the country, by the constitutional organs of its will, calls us to its defence, what citizen can refuse his arm!

“At the moment, in which we first obey the oath, pronounced upon the altar of the federation by the nation in arms, I wish to inform you of my intentions, and remind you of my principles.

“Convinced, by the experience of a life devoted to liberty, that it can exist only among citizens submitted to the laws, as it can be defended only by troops consenting to subordination.

“I have served the people without flattering them, and in my constant opposition to licence and anarchy, have deserved the hatred of all the ambitious and all the factious. Now, that the army expects of me not pernicious compliances, but an inflexible discipline, it is by rigorously fulfilling this duty that I shall justify the affection which it grants, and the esteem which it owes me. But when I subject freemen to the imperious will of a chief, we should all know, general, officers, soldiers, that, in this war, become a deadly combat between our principles and the pretensions of despots, the rights of every citizen, and the safety of all are involved. The Constitution, to which we are sworn, the sacred cause of liberty and equality are involved in it. The contest is for the national sovereignty, under which there can be no compromise with any combination of strength or with any dangers, without betraying not only the French people, but all humanity.

“Soldiers of liberty, to deserve these blessings it is not sufficient to be brave. Your general ought to foresee and order you to obey. Be generous; respect the enemy when disarmed. Troops, which always give quarter, and receive it not, will be for ever invincible. Be disinterested; let not the degrading hope of pillage ever sully the nobility of your motives. Be humane; that our sentiments may be admired and our laws blessed, wherever we go. Be, in short, like your general resolved to see the triumph of liberty or to die.

“Soldiers of the Constitution fear not, that she may cease to watch for you, while you fight for her; do not believe, that while you are gone forth to combat for your country, intestine commotions will disturb your homes. The legislative body, and the King will doubtless unite themselves intimately in this decisive moment, to assure the empire of the law. Persons and property

property will be respected; civil and religious liberty will never be profaned; the peaceable citizen will be respected, whatever may be his opinion; the guilty will be punished, whatever may be their pretences; all parties will be dissolved; and the Constitution will prevail alone both over the rebels, who attack it by open force, and over the traitors, who in disgracing it by their vile passions, seem to have sworn to make it feared at home and suspected abroad. Yes; we shall have this price for our labours and our blood. Let us adhere then with confidence to the chosen representatives of the people, who have sworn not to avoid the duties of the Constitution, as we will not its dangers: to the hereditary representative, that citizen King, whose throne the Constitution has placed upon an irrefragable foundation; and to all the other depositaries of the powers delegated by the Constitution.

"They all know, that the use of that authority is a duty for them, to whom the Constitution has deputed it, as obedience is for those whom she has submitted to it; and that they may transgress the laws, by not doing what these prescribe, as well as by doing what they prohibit. Let us adhere to the national guards, whom a rising Constitution found united for its establishment, whom the Constitution in danger will find always ready to defend it, and whose patriotism will render glorious the calumnies which may be shared with them.

"As for us, bearing the arms which liberty has consecrated and the *Declaration of Rights*, let us march to the enemy.

Signed

(An exact copy)

LA FAYETTE.

LAUMOY."

ARMY OF LUCKNER

Besfort, May 2.

"After the receipt of orders by Marechal Luckner, brought to him by M. de la Grange, one of his aides-de-camp, M. de Custine, lieutenant-general, commanding in the Upper Rhine, immediately dispatched orders to the regiments and battalions, under his command, to march in the night and rendezvous, at break of day, at Rechesy, a frontier town of France, and the principality of Porentin, and there to wait for orders from M. de Ferriere, camp marechal.

"M. De Custine and Ferriere arrived at Rechesy, on the 29th at three o'clock in the afternoon, where they found two thousand men and seven pieces of artillery. This corps was in excellent order, though the men had marched all night, and had no other food than bread. The troops set out at night for Mirecourt and Corneau, under the command of M. De Ferriere. M. De Custine, accompanied by his Aide-de-camp, and by a detachment

ment of dragoons and national guards, went in the night to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Porentui, and the places before the pass. The prince bishop of Porentui had set out in the night of the 27th and 28th, accompanied with four hundred Austrian troopers; and the deputies of Porentui offered to M. de Custine and his troops free entrance into their town and country. They assured him, that there was not then an Austrian in the principality, and offered themselves as pledges for the truth of their information.

"M. de Custine did not enter the town, but continued his tour of inspection, and arrived at La Grange d'Eredzy, at seven in the morning, of the 30th of April. Other deputies from Porentui, and from Delemont met him there, desiring that he would freely use whatever might be necessary for the service of his army, and bringing twelve pipes of wine for his troops. The general gave all the necessary orders for quartering his corps about the pass of Porentui, and advanced himself with about a thousand men to Delemont, where he arrived about one in the morning, and was received by the inhabitants with acclamations of joy.

"M. de la Grange, Mareschal Luckner's aide-de-camp, immediately set out with the pleasing intelligence for the quarters of the mareschal. In his way, passing by Reinach, the last place in the territory of Porentui, he learned, that the four hundred Austrians arrived there in the night of the 28th and 29th, and set out on the 30th for Reinfield, leaving the whole principality in the power of the French, whom the inhabitants on all sides treated in the most affectionate manner.

"The conduct of the troops is in every respect highly commendable, and not the least offence has been committed against the property of the inhabitants. There are now 6000 French in Porentui."

The following is the Petition of M. Arthur Dillon to the National Assembly, read May 1.

"Gentlemen,

"You have this morning heard by the minister of war, the report of the dreadful event which has taken place at Lisle; you have shuddered at the horrible assassination of M. Theobald Dillon, mareschal de camp. I come as his relation, his brother in arms, and his friend, to demand of you vengeance and justice. I have a right to expect them, for I pledge my life that he has preserved inviolate the fidelity which he had sworn to the nation and the King. The National Assembly cannot be ignorant that for more than a century the Dillons have adopted France as their country; it has been their fate to perish for it,
I gloriously

gloriously fighting with their arms in their hands. Can its representatives now suffer that an officer of the name, who marched against the enemy by the orders of his general, and who was devoted to the maintenance of the Constitution, should be massacred with impunity by assassins. I demand that the National Assembly decree, that there shall be sent commissioners, who shall give an account within eight days, both of the orders given to M. Theobald Dillon, and of the conduct which he has pursued, both in this transaction, and during the twelve-month that he has been employed at Lisle. Permit me to remind the National Assembly, that the Tirolian chasséurs, whom this unfortunate officer had taken prisoners, have been put to an infamous death. It is without doubt sufficient to the Assembly to be informed of this fact to foresee all the consequences, and it will perceive that military commissioners alone, with unlimited powers, and by a great example, can at once preserve the defenders of their country, and repair in the eyes of all civilized nations, a crime equally contrary to humanity and the rights of war."

(Signed) "A. DILLON, Lieutenant-General."

"Paris, May 10."

Every thinking man here accuses the ministry with the misfortunes which France has suffered in the out-set of the war. Their plan of operations as discreetly conceived as it was prematurely executed—without concert—without intelligence of the condition of the enemy—without having provided for their own armies the necessary supplies—has brought upon them the odium of the reflecting part of the community, but they have not failed in their turn, by all the journalists devoted to their cause, to create a diversion in their favour by calumnies on the court faction. Accordingly we have had a story of a pretended discovery of a treasonable correspondence between the King and M. de Rochambeau, and that the minister at war gained possession of a letter, which laid open the arts practised to counteract the plans of the council. They have been challenged to bring this to light—They have been called upon to accuse the Austrian committee, of which they incessantly speak, but no accusation has been made. On the contrary, the minister at war has resigned, and in his letter to the King he speaks a very different language from that of impeachment. The following is a translation of his letter;

"SIRE,

Paris, May 8.

"In the present difficulties of the kingdom, nothing could induce me to quit the place which I hold from your Majesty's confidence,

confidence, but my powers being exhausted, and my conviction, that I cannot be useful in the ministry. Your Majesty, I hope, does justice to the motives that have guided my conduct hitherto, as well as to those under which I now act. For me, Sire, I carry with me a profound recollection of your virtues; and I regret that all the citizens have not had, like myself, an opportunity of witnessing your Majesty's tender solicitude for, and attachment to the glory, the happiness, and the liberty of the nation.

"I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, Sire, your Majesty's most humble and most obedient servant,
(Signed) "GRAVE."

A letter from the King was read in these words—

"MR. PRESIDENT,

"Inform the Assembly that I have appointed to the office of minister of war, M. Servant.

(Signed)

LOUIS."

May 11. A letter from M. de Biron to the Assembly was read. It conjured the Assembly to contrive the means of preserving to the army Marechal de Rochambeau. The ties of subordination, if not actually broken, would be much relaxed if he should abandon his companions in arms.

M. Servant, the new minister at war, presented himself, accompanied by M. Dumourier, and made the following address:—

"I have accepted the place to which the King has been pleased to nominate me. I have accepted it in the persuasion, that, with pure motives, every man ought at this moment to place himself at the most perilous post, particularly as he has the hope of being supported by the representatives of the people.

"I enter the lists, and I shall not quit them until I am convinced that my powers are unequal to my constant desire of doing good."—The Assembly applauded.—He then said,

"I have the honour to inform the assembly of the arrival of M. Luckner at Paris. This patriot general did not hesitate instantly to quit the command of an army well disciplined, by whom he was adored, and a department of which he had the entire confidence.

"Solicited to take the command of the northern army, he said in reply, that he would propose a thing more important for the service. He would go to Valenciennes—to reanimate their confidence, and to exert all his efforts in the name of the

King, to persuade Marechal de Rochambeau, whose great talents he knew, to continue in command. [*A shout of applause.*] He wished to encourage the deluded troops. He wished to serve under M. de Rochambeau, as a simple aide-de-camp, until the time that he should return to his own army.

"The King's ministers have supported this proposition. They have seized with eagerness the occasion of proving, that, strangers to all personality, they look only to the public good. They doubt not but the public good will be consulted in the union of all those, who, like Messrs. Rochambeau and Luckner have the power of giving victory to their country.

"It is but a few minutes ago, that M. Luckner, speaking to the King, said, "*Sire, my soldiers will follow me like sheep.*" This was his precise expression.

M. Dumas moved that the president be directed to write to General Luckner, that the nation thank him.—Decreed by acclamation.

M. Dumas then made a report on the means of punishing the cowardly conduct of the traitors at Mons. "The committee cannot see, without admiration, that in the midst of the confusion, occasioned by the treason and espionage of our enemies, many courageous soldiers supported in their retreat the attack of an enemy who had gained no advantage but from our unhappy error. Who can hear without emotion the recital of M. Alexander Beauhornois. The brave grenadier of the 74th regiment (M. Pie) who fell wounded at his side. "My officer," cried this brave man, "complete my fate—kill me, "that I may not see the disgrace of this day—You see, Sir, "I die at least with my fusil at my side, and with regret that I "can no longer carry it." The Assembly decreed that this grenadier, who is not dead of his wounds, shall be recommended to generals Rochambeau and Luckner, and that the president do convey to him in a letter, the satisfaction of the Assembly. After thus beginning with reward, they came to the decree against the culprits.

After a preamble, the decree was as follows:—

1. The executive power is charged to form a court martial in the city, that the general of the northern army shall point out, to try the criminals, who in the 5th and 6th regiments, cried out treason, and excited a defection on the affair of Mons.

2. The General shall summon the 5th and 6th regiments, who were the ringleaders. If they do not make the discovery within a time to be limited—the regiments shall be broken.

3. If they shall be broken, their colours shall be torn and burnt at the head of the army, and the numbers of the two regiments shall for ever remain vacant in the army.

4. The

4. The executive power shall give an account every eight days of the steps taken against spies and traitors, who may be found guilty of exciting the troops to mutiny.

Address from the Representatives of the French People to the Citizens armed for the Defence of the Country.

“ The fate of our liberty; that, perhaps, of the liberty of the world, is in your hands. We do not tell you of our confidence; that, like your courage is unbounded. We have not provoked the war; and, when the King proposed to us to revenge, at length, the outrages upon the national dignity, we resisted, for a long time, the wish expressed by the general indignation of the French. A good and free people take up arms with regret; but they take them not in vain; they triumph, or they break them in their hands. The tortures and shame of an eternal servitude would not sufficiently punish a nation, who should suffer their liberty to escape them, after having conquered it.

“ And what object can be more worthy of your courage! The period is passed, in which French warriors, the docile instruments of one man's will, armed themselves only to defend the interests, the caprice, or the passions of kings. At present yourselves, your children, your own rights, are to be defended. We must conquer, or return to the dominion of feudal privileges, of arbitrary imprisonment, and of every sort of taxation, oppression, and servitude. Your individual happiness, the happiness of all those, who are dear to you, are thus nearly connected with the safety of the country. But those are unworthy to defend it, who do not add virtues to courage. The men whom we fight to day, are our brothers; to-morrow, perhaps, they will be our friends. Intrepid in battle; firm in misfortunes; modest after victory; generous to prisoners; such are a free people. Crimes, notwithstanding have been committed! The laws will punish, in their just severity, all outrages against the rights of nations, and the sacred rights of nature. Rewards, on the contrary, will attend faithful warriors; their names will obtain for ever the gratitude and the homage of all the friends of liberty; and, if they die in battle, their children shall be the children of the country.

“ As for us, immoveable in the midst of political storms, we shall watch over all stratagems; over all the enemies of the empire. The world shall see whether we are the representatives of a great people, or the timid subjects of certain Kings in Europe. We have sworn not to capitulate either with pride, or tyranny; we shall keep our oath,—“ *Death—Death—or Victory and Equality!*”

“ But,

" But, to assure victory, it is necessary, that discipline should regulate all the movements of courage; and that distrust should never suspend or destroy them. There can be no triumph without the absolute obedience of soldiers to their officers, to the general; without their constant and fraternal union. The enemies of the country know, that you will repulse with horror him, who would lessen your civic zeal, your unalterable fidelity; but it is even in your virtues, that they seek the means of seducing you. Affecting to share your patriotism, they mingle with the expression of it, both in their conversation and writings, the insinuation of a sentiment, which produces, at first, but a slight uneasiness, and ends in the most blameable distrust. They talk to you only of treason and perfidy. Observe attentively those, who hold this language; and presently you will perceive, under whatever name they may shelter themselves, that they are generally only the emissaries, or the hired writers of the enemies of French liberty.

" Warriors, observe the 2d battalion of Paris; the 6th regiment of chasseurs, *ci-devant* Languedoc; the 3d regiment of hussars, *ci devant* Esterhazy; and the 49th regiment of infantry, *ci-devant* Vintimille. It is amongst yourselves, that we are happy to find examples for you. They have trusted, obeyed, and merited well of the country."

ARMY of LA FAYETTE,

The War Minister has received the following Letter from M. De la Fayette.

" SIR,

May, 6.

" The dispatches of the 4th of May have informed you of my movements. Since then, the news received from Lille and Valenciennes, have determined me to retain only advanced guards in the enemy's country. I have occupied the post of Bouvines, where forage is very scarce, all that has been said concerning the assistance and the intelligence, which we were to derive from the enemy's people, has been much exaggerated. Our troops have suffered by their forced marches, but without murmuring.

" The post of Longvov was too important to be neglected; we have occupied it, therefore, notwithstanding the inconveniences to which it is exposed. I am, &c.

" LA FAYETTE."

Another letter from M. La Fayette's camp at Givet, is as follows:—

" You probably expect, that we have already had a battle with the Austrians; but the general appears to be determined upon

upon the most prudent measures, and, though our advanced posts are six or seven leagues in the territory of the enemy, our army is encamped upon the heights of Givet. Some excursions have been made by the light troops, and every where the enemy have retired. This evening, four prisoners, bound together, were brought to camp; the general immediately ordered them to be released, and directed, that prisoners in future should be treated in the same manner as those of a correspondent rank in our army.

“The troops have suffered exceedingly by the late forced march; and we have now so much outrun our stores, that we are almost without tents, hay, straw, or draft horses. The general and all the superior officers endeavour to relieve our wants as much as possible, and the troops, though they have many necessities, have no discontents.

“One person has been seized, and is detained upon suspicion of being a spy. I do not perceive that the disposition of the Belgic people is favourable to us. A brother officer, returned from the advanced guard at Bouvines, informs me, that the three thousand men, who are there, have been very coldly received. Not a single deserter has come in.

“Our general officers are, M. de Narbonne, Gouvion, Ligneville, Tracy, and Maubourg. M. de la Fayette has passed four and twenty hours at the advanced guard where he shared the barren accommodations of the troops, who have not a tent.”

A letter from M. Rochambeau to the president of the National Assembly, was read. The old general defends himself from the charge of refusing to correspond with the ministers as to their intentions; and proceeds;

“I am accused of not having gone to Quieverain to cover the retreat of M. De Biron. This march was not foreseen by ministry, and was not pointed out to me. Only three regiments, which were to arrive at Valenciennes, during the expedition of M. De Biron, were left to my disposal. I assisted him with eight pieces of cannon; I went to the Heights at St. Lauve, and M. De Biron has given a satisfactory testimony as to this disposition.

“I am reproached with not providing marching hospitals; I had none, but I sent what surgeons I had to Quieverain, and the wounded have been brought to Valenciennes, where they are well taken care of.

“In short, gentlemen, as an answer to many charges, I must observe, that the plan of M. De Biron's expedition was published in all the papers of the capital, before I was officially informed of it. It appears, that M. Luckner will take the command

command of the army of the north. That officer joins to much valour, great experience; he has given proofs, in the war of Hanover, both of the one and the other. His system is that of offensive war.

"I, on the contrary, think the system of intrenched camps the best. There our troops may be exercised, and held ready to seize any occasion for falling upon the enemy. But this system is not that of ministry. I have served for fifty years. My labours and age have brought infirmities; my strength is no longer sufficient for the duties of my command; I quit it; but I shall not cease to devote myself to the support of the Constitution. My services, perhaps, will not satisfy my wishes for the Constitution, and for the King of the French, to whom I appropriate my life and my whole existence.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"Signed ROCHAMBEAU."

The Assembly highly applauded this letter, and ordered it to be printed.

ARMY OF LA FAYETTE.

"M. de la Colombe, first aide-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, was sent to Paris, on the 4th of May, to inform the French Ministry of the necessities of the army of Givet. The advanced guard, commanded by M. Gouvion, had passed five nights in the open air; want of forage continues, and the soldiers, who have no other bed than straw, have not that clean, yet not a murmur is heard throughout the army, except, indeed of impatience in being detained from the enemy.

M. de Beaumetz, a member of the late constituent assembly, has given up his functions in the directory of the department of Paris to go and serve under M. de la Fayette, as his sub-lieutenant and aide-de-camp.

The situation of one of the camps under the command of M. de la Fayette is described in the following letter:

Camp of Tiercelet, May 5, 1792.

"We are here five thousand men, destitute of almost every thing. We have neither powder, ball, cannons, or artillery-men, and we are in the face of fifteen thousand Austrians. Our generals promise us fifteen charges per man for this night, and they are making cartridges at Longwi but at the rate of only 10,000 daily.

"We are promised also cannon, and two pieces are now arrived, but these are only field pieces, the heavy metal being with M. de la Fayette. We have no draught horses, so that the situation of the camp cannot be changed. The discipline is much less perfect than has been represented."

ARMY

ARMY OF M. LUCKNER.

During the absence of M. Luckner, who is gone to take the command of the northern army, in the room of M. Rochembeau resigned, this army is under the command of M. Darambure.

The following extraordinary Manifesto, which has been lately printed at Paris, and signed "In name of the Belgic and Liegeois People united, THE GENERAL COMMITTEE sitting at Paris," has not been printed in England.

THE BELGIC AND LIEGOIS UNITED.

TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE EARTH—PEACE AND
LIBERTY!

NATIONS of the earth, ye who still groan under the yoke of a shameful bondage; and ye happier people, whose courageous efforts have triumphed over those of despotism, whose chains are for ever broken—particularly ye Frenchmen, with whom conspired tyrants are this very moment contesting the sceptre, which eludes the grasp—it is to you, it is not to crowned usurpers, who stile themselves masters of the universe, that we address our complaints; it is to you, but not to the despots that oppress you, whom we constitute judges of our claims;—it is before your tribunal, with the arms of reason and eternal justice, directed, in case of need, by the mass of our will and our united strength, and not by the vain delusions of an obscure, artificial, and false policy, that we are going to defend our rights and yours, which were but too long disowned and outraged.

Friendly Nations, Brotherly People! this cause is the cause of all nations; hear us, and be our judges.

When man, for the first time, experienced a want of strength to resist oppression, he united himself into a society, because he saw in this union the only means of securing the preservation of his rights, of augmenting their exercise, of aggrandizing his existence, and, as it were, of multiplying his physical and intellectual faculties.

How could sophistical men advance, that man could not hope for the preservation of part of his natural rights, otherwise than through the voluntary sacrifice of the other portion? How could

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more liberty be supposed in a wild man than in a social one? Have not both of them rights to maintain, and duties to fulfil? Is it not the right and the duty of each respectively to watch over the preservation of their being? Are not these rights for the one as well as the other—the safety of the person, the liberty of actions, the security of property, and resistance against oppression? Are not these duties for the one as well as the other—not to infringe upon the similar rights of other men?

But there is this difference, that in the state of nature, each not being able to secure his right by opposing his individual strength or agility to the individual agility or strength of him who intends to deprive him of it, the rights and duties of each are entirely precarious; whereas in society, the rights of each being under the safeguard and guarantee of the strength of all, it is in this state only that any one has truly been able to oppose an efficacious curb against private usurpations and injustices; that the rights of every one, the rights of all, have really been able to attain, and ought to have had, the greatest possible extent.

Such has been the aim of politic associations; these were the basis of the first social compact; such ought to have been the first of human agreements; the securing the rights of all against private and public encroachments; putting them under the protection of the general will or the law, and not under the guardianship of an hereditary master.

Nay, on which page of this sacred code may one read this revolting clause? Where can it be found that the first men concerted with one another to say to a third man, their equal—“We abandon as a full property to thee and to thy posterity, our liberty, our possessions, our persons—those of our wives, our children, and our whole posterity; and thou mayest dispose of them according to thy good pleasure; and every time thou shalt think it necessary for thy private safety, thy private concerns, avarice, pleasures, and caprice, thou shalt have it in thy power to ruin us, to kill us, and to sell us to the highest bidders; we shall patiently suffer to be thus vexed, tossed about, and oppressed; and thou shalt find in us slaves always submissive, always pleased, and always caressing the hand that strikes us!”—What free minds, independent and proud of belonging still to nature, could have uttered such a vilifying speech? No! the very idea of this lewd blasphemy makes one shake with terror!

It is, however, to this degree of servitude, meanness, and humiliation, that kings, which are the work of our own hands, have by degrees reduced mankind.

Are we to lose a precious time in demonstrating that the absolute sovereignty which these single beings arrogate to themselves

selves over millions of beings, their equals, is nothing but a shocking usurpation? Do we live in an age of darkness? do we speak to people in such a state of barbarism as can make it necessary to refute the absurd pretension of such kings and their base flatterers? "That their power comes from Heaven; that the sceptre is a gift of birth; that the blood of princes is of purer quality than that of other men; that nature, by producing them upon earth, intended to honour and to embellish it with so rare a species; and that thus it is manifest, that to them alone is given the exclusive enjoyment of all rights; and that on the vulgar herd only the obligation of all duties is imposed."

These fatal absurdities were but too much consecrated during numerous ages of ignorance and barbarity. Superstition and fanaticism did but too long agree with usurping tyrants to deceive blind mortals, to besot them so much as to stifle in them the feelings of their own strength. But these days of error are past. At the all-powerful call of philosophy, light has made its appearance, and all delusions are destroyed. No longer shall the arbitrariness of strength or cunning, but unshaken justice be the rule of our actions; no longer shall fraud and imposture, but eternal truth master our reason; the will of all shall no longer slavishly obey the frantic whims of a single individual, but all private wills shall give way to the sovereign will of all. Such is the immutable will of Nature.

Thus to justify the lawful and necessary insurrection, of which we are going to give the world a fresh instance, it might perhaps be sufficient to say the people were not willing to be slaves any longer, and the people have been free; the sovereign people have ceased to acknowledge and obey masters, and will no longer obey any other power than the law, which is the result of their free will.

If we needs must give a more particular account of the grievances that force us to avail ourselves at last, of the imprescriptible right which nature has given to all men, that of resisting oppression—ye nations of the earth, whom we have taken for our judges, see and decide, if there is a tyranny equal to that which overwhelms us: see and decide, whether ever a people had more lawful reasons to complain and to do themselves justice.

Solemn contracts, and solemnly sworn by the contracting parties, tied the Belgians and the people of Liege to their respective princes;—the princes have forsworn themselves, they have broke these sacred ties, they have betrayed their oaths.

We had constitutions, without doubt unformed, and stained with all the vices of ages still barbarous, at the time when they were concluded and agreed upon; without doubt, uncomplete,

insufficient now-a-days, little suitable with the principles of civil, politic, and natural equality, which the light of philosophy has shewn us, which reason forces us to acknowledge in all men. They were nothing but an imperfect corrective of the feudal government, whereof they had retained the disgraceful distinctions and odious prerogatives.

In their imperfection however, these constitutions did set to the despotism of the prince bounds, which were thought insurmountable; these constitutions did guarantee to the people, the dearest, the most precious liberties they claim, that of their actions and persons, the right not be arrested than by the judge's sentence; that of being compelled to nothing in an arbitrary manner, and according to the caprice of the administrators; that of submitting to law only; that of granting subsidies, and of being taxed only by the will of their representatives. In short, in some of these constitutional forms, there was found the seed of the best principles, and of institutions the most fit for containing the supreme power in lawful bounds.

But what bars, that are powerful enough, can there be efficaciously and always opposed to this passion of governing, which unluckily is so natural to man; to this thirst after absolute sovereignty that continually devours him, whenever the supreme power being concentrated in a single family or in a permanent body, this family or body may, without fear of destitution, conceive hereditary plans of enslaving, and pursue them hereditarily? It will be in vain to place between the prince and the people intermediate bodies, charged with supporting and defending their rights against the encroachments of authority. It is to no purpose to appoint independent magistrates for judging, repressing, and punishing these encroachments, if these intermediate bodies are hereditary themselves, or if these bodies and these magistrates are appointed by the prince; of two things one will soon happen, they will either understand one another in oppressing with one accord, and the yoke of the people grown doubly heavy, will be the more unsupportable for it; or there will arise among them a continual strife for power, and the people then, as an always devoted victim, for to be the reward of the conqueror, will successively be tossed from one vexation into another, pressed between the despotism of many; and the citizens armed against citizens, will for ever fight, not for liberty, but for the choice of their tyrants.

Though one would suppose counter forces as wisely disposed, as exactly weighed, as it is possible for human understanding to conceive, as they will be composed of always moveable elements, as their relations will vary at each mutation, what constant effect can there be expected from it against the force
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of hereditary despotism, always acting, even when at rest, always advancing towards its aim, even when it seems to be stationary or retrograding, always rivetting the fetters of the nation, either that being victorious it crushes her with its puissance, or that when yielding to the necessity of circumstances, it feigns to overload her with perfidious caresses?

Such is the inherent vice, such has been the destructive seed of these so much boasted of constitutions, where under pretence of establishing a useful but chimerical balance of powers, there has in fact only been erected rival powers of tyranny, whose efforts oftentimes combined, and oftener inimical ones, did in all hypotheses, only tend to render the people unhappy.

What need is there of tumbling over our annals, for following these afflicting details, which the history of our princes offers us every where, for pointing them out, as being always diligent in enslaving us, always spying a favourable opportunity of entrenching upon the rights of the people, for ever eluding the clauses of the inaugural faction, which they made a game of alternatively swearing to and infringing upon it.

Ought we call to mind the memory of our Charles the 5th, carrying war from one extremity of Europe to the other, every where victorious, every where absolute, every where breaking his word, chastising even twice, with an unlawful severity, the lawful insurrection of the Flemish; (for whenever the people rises, it is a certain sign that they are not happy). How now! he that aspired at the phantom of universal monarchy, he that did not so much as respect the sovereignty of the independent states, that form the Germanic association, would he have put up with the restrictions which the Belgic constitutions opposed to his despotism? Would the conqueror of both parts of the globe have suffered impediments to his supreme will, in a country that was but a dot, in comparison with the rest of his vast dominions.

Must we recollect the memory of our Phillip the Second, suspicious tyrant, dissembling, perfidious, atrabilarious executioner of his own son, butcher of his people, whose blood did continually stream, either in battles, or on scaffolds, during the course of a long reign; in short, if this monster, whose atrocious cruelties, but too well supported by vizirs worthy of such a master, have forced to separate themselves from us the Dutch, then so great, and so degenerate in our days.

Must we remember the memory of the feeble princes of the Spanish branch that have succeeded Phillip the Second, during whose administration these five provinces were continually
ransacked,

ransacked, and tore by foreign armies, by wars continually renewed and always equally disastrous.

Must we recall to mind the memory of the no less weak princes of the German branch, whose first favours have been to sacrifice our trade, liberty, and prosperity to the mercantile cupidity of England and Holland.

Must we lastly, recollect the memory of all those governors, ministers, and other subaltern despots, whom the despots in chief sent us from the center of Spain or Germany, and who, bringing along with them into these provinces, exotic manners, habits of slavery, personal views of ambition, or cupidity, have constantly busied themselves only with the double care of encreasing their private fortunes, and invading the rights of the nation, for to add to their master's authority; who did but too scrupulously observe this plan, of the most infernal policy, which is assured to exist for upwards of a century in the House of Austria, and which tends to remove the wealth, industry, and prosperity of these provinces, once so flourishing, and still so fertile, into the deserts of Pannonia, for to sell them afterwards again, when its soil is dried up, and promises no more than a feeble degree of strength to its new possession.

If on the other hand we cast our looks on the episcopal seat of Liege, what then do we perceive there? an uninterrupted succession of priests, as proud as they were ignorant, hypocrites and licentious, pusillanimous, and full of hatred, alternatively armed with torches of fanaticism, and with the sword of tyranny. One will perceive there ministers of a God of peace, delight in battles in the midst of massacre and death. One will perceive the disciples, of him who came to bring to men an example of humility, patience, poverty, pardon of offences, chastity, giving to the world a scandal of all vices, of all errors, of all crimes; insatiable of authority, greedy, after the substance of the people, without faith, honour, and humanity, making with impunity, a game of whatever probity hold the most sacred, religion the most respectable, to gratify the brutish passions of their in continence, or the fury of their vengeance.

One will see them now lavish the blood of the people of Liege in foreign wars arming them for cause of powerful princes, and in recompense of their barbarous support, bring back into the country, to enslave it, mercenary soldiers, still smoking with courage still panting with thirst, after plunder and devastation, then kindling in the bosom, of the mother country the flame of discord, exciting, promoting, encouraging civil wars, arming citizens, against citizens, destroying the one through the other, not blushing of appearing themselves at the head of a

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a faction; and whenever they were victorious in a combat, not making an end of menslaughter, than at the rate of some shameful concessions, at the expence of the rights of the nation; if, on the contrary, they were overcome, not being stingy, with new oaths, and with contracting fresh obligations, which they forswore at the first favourable opportunity. It is thus that the people of Liege have wrestled during seven or eight centuries between the vexations of an always attacked liberty, and the violences of a tyranny that was never crushed. It is in this manner they did militate against the efforts of the priests, for the maintenance of a constitution that assured them invaluable rights, till a prince of the House of Bavaria, the Bishop Maximilian Henry, more powerful, but still more wicked than his predecessors, the most execrable tyrant that would have disgraced the annals of Liege, if Bishop Hoensbrook had not occupied the same see; has, a century ago, invaded our lawfullest rights, and drowned them in the blood of two faithful magistrates and beloved by the people. Yet, why ask of past centuries the description of politic crimes that have stained them, when the present ones still out-do them? The calamities that lay heavy on our ancestors, were only fore-runners of those that oppress us. Despotism, like all human things had its degrees; its first attempts were slow and imperceptible, they may have been supportable, but the measure has heaped up the violences of our tyrants.—know no curb.—It was reserved for us to be witnesses of so much audaciousness, well then!—*let it be reserved to our arms to revenge it.*

Generous nations, who doubtless will pity our hardships when you will know all their excess, only compare our former with our actual situation. Such were our social agreements at the period when they were freely and reciprocally granted, behold what is become of them in the hands of those that govern us this day. Read the *Joyeuse Entree*, read the *Peace of Fexhe*, these solemn contracts, where our rights and the duties of our princes were fixed, and lo! how they fulfil their duties, how they revere our rights.

They have contracted, under the faith of an oath, in the face of Heaven, in presence of all the people, the obligations to observe and maintain the *customs, uses, liberties, and franchises of the inhabitants of the country*, to preserve them against every attempt, to take care that each should be led and treated by law and judgment, by right and sentence according to the right of each and not otherwise, &c.

And notwithstanding this our *customs*, that is to say civil laws that regulate our private concerns, have been continually altered changed, annulled, and re-inplaced, according to the fancy of the

the princes, without consulting the nation, without paying regard to her most lawful claims; in the manner that the prince has by degrees attributed to himself exclusively the legislative power. There needs no other proofs than the mass of edicts, ordinances, placarts, varying often from each other, always emanating from the bare authority of the prince, and with these *forms of DESPOTISM—FOR IT IS OUR GOOD PLEASURE; FOR IT PLEASES US THUS.*

And notwithstanding this, our *usages and liberties*, that is to say, the constitutional forms that did regulate the number and choice of our public placemen, the national representation, the duties of the judges, the prerogatives and functions of the prince, our politic rights; in short, these *uses* were disowned, these *liberties* were snatched from us. The national representation has degraded itself by degrees, there is very little at this time: the election of judges, magistrates, even of our pretended, or would-be representatives, has been taken away from the people, the prince has arrogated it to himself, he has disposed of all public functions; and our judges, magistrates, and representatives appointed by the court, valets of the court, carry on a trade with the court of our rights, privileges, honour, and of the property and lives of the citizens.

And notwithstanding this, our *franchises*, that is to say, the right of being conducted in every thing by *law and judgment*; that is to say moreover, the liberty, the safety of our persons, the liberty, the safety of our habitations, the liberty of our actions, writings, and our discourses; even our softest affections are poisoned by the most scrupulous, plaguy, and oftentimes most vexatary inquisitions. A shameful spying out of others, is openly seen in public places; it creeps into our domestic asylums, the abuse of confidence increases, the secret of letters is betrayed with impunity—it is even thought a meritorious action; suspicions are sufficient to spread alarm and uneasiness in families; fathers are snatched away from their children, and husbands from their wives. Those whom they cannot arrest by legal means, are militarily arrested; those, whose unalterable probity and inflexible patriotism becomes troublesome, are prosecuted a thousand ways—they are forced to expatriate themselves. They revenge themselves upon some by criminal proceedings; to promote their ruin they try every petty-fogging shift and fetch at law; against others they excite bribed villains; pillage is openly tolerated, and perhaps recompensed—the law at least is silent; and the tribunals without energy for punishing powerful and unjust men, are no longer held in awe but by the weak and innocent.

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To be brief, this is what is left of our ancient liberties. We have still states, or pretended representatives; but in one of the greater provinces, some chiefs of some religious houses or monasteries appointed by the prince, make among them one of the three orders; some nobles that hold fiefs, compose hereditarily the second order; and in the third, where the people under the denomination of *tiers état*, the third order, ought at least, to be completely represented, there are only to be seen the representatives of some corporations of trade, or still better, the representatives of about thirty privileged families. And this province, however, is supposed to contain upwards of five hundred thousand inhabitants; yet this is of all others that, whose states have ofteneft and the most vigorously resisted absolute power.

In others, the prince appoints the magistratures, and from these magistratures are the will-be representatives of the nation taken; they are of consequence nothing else but the representatives of the prince.

In this province one sees two monks and three nobles compose the absolute majority, the always preponderating majority, against the fourteen members of the third order, *tiers état*.

At Liege, the cathedral chapter that makes but one with the bishop, forms there the first chamber; nobles of so many descents, represent themselves at this chapter, and forms the second chamber; lastly, the *tiers état*, or the third chamber, is taken from among the magistrates of the cities, whom in former times the people chose at least, but who a century past, are appointed by the princes, either for the moiety or in totality.

How should the rights of the people be respected, and trusted in such impure hands, so concerned in violating them?

How could this people have escaped oppression and servitude; when their defenders have put themselves voluntarily under the protection and tuition of the hand that oppresses them?

It is for this reason, that a long time since our rights were nothing but chimeras; it is from this motive that these phantoms of states have basely sold us in a thousand important occurrences. Wherefore they were also seen, at some instances; through the most notorious of all perfidies, granting the prince perpetual subsidies, disposing by this means in an irretrievable manner, of our properties, and letting go the only curb which we could yet oppose against the most atrocious injustices of absolute power.

There was withal a glimpse of hope left us; one would have thought that these princes, instructed by foreign examples, instructed by the more striking experience of their own misfortune, after having experienced what power the despair of the people has when they are forced to the last push; how terrible

their judgments are when they rise; how assured their vengeance is when they strike; how weak and frail the borrowed strength of despots grows against the strength of the people, after having been vanquished, abandoned, and slighted by their own countrymen; driven out of their states, compelled to fly, compelled shamefully to beg the succour or mediation of other despots; compelled to beg pardon, by beseeching this very people, whom, in the days of their power they loaded with disdain, one would have thought that these princes had met in his misfortune, with lessons of justice, moderation, humanity, and that they would not have endeavoured to shine anew in the supreme rank, than to make good their past wrongs, to do justice to the legal claims of the people, to protect the reign of law and justice.

But, alas! how delusive was this hope, and one may well say—*the last error was still worse than the others.*

The people of Liege, without an army, artillery, and war ammunition in the beginning of their revolution, without overloading the nation with extraordinary impositions, with the smallest means of finances, and strong only of their energy and courage, had resisted for six months together the combined efforts of four despots of Germany; they had triumphed over them on the ramparts of the towns and in the plain; the surprises of these perfidious enemies turned out to their shame; the people of Liege were every where victorious. It is in this moment that Leopold comes to them and offers to terminate these unhappy quarrels to the common advantage. The people of Liege could not suspect such a powerful prince of baseness; they yielded without restraint to this Leopold, whom they thought so magnanimous; to this Leopold administration Tuscany then extolled; to this Leopold, who was then only known by strokes of justice, wisdom, and philosophy; to this Leopold, who would have carried off the regret of the whole world, if—but he had not deserved yet that Heaven should be avenged of him. The people of Liege relying too much on virtues which they thought to be pure, abandoned themselves for the third time to the word of a prince, and for the third time the word of a prince deceives and abuses them.

This prince so great, had promised to enter into Liege as in a friend's country, with a few troops and an olive branch in his hand; the gates are opened to him; he enters like a conqueror into a country he had not conquered; he fills it with troops, he disarms its inhabitants—he lays them under contribution.

This prince, so generous, had promised safety and protection to persons, a reciprocal oblivion of things past; in short, an impartial justice to all; he has not even required an amnesty of the
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Prince Bishop; and his forces have served none but the vengeance of this blood-thirsty priest; and in sight of the Austrian commissioners, under the direction of Austrian generals, with the assistance of Austrian soldiers, the most horrid injustices were committed, the most atrocious violences practised, arbitrary imprisonments, juridical assassinations executed, the most honest citizens proscribed, a great many families reduced to indigence, the people loaded with fifty new taxes, their ordinary contribution tribled and quadruplicated.

This prince, so philosophical, had promised to concur in the redress of the nation's grievances, to interpose his mediation with the Bishop, for re-establishing the constitution in its primitive purity; to return to the people the right of naming their representatives, to secure to these representatives the power of making laws to grant taxes. And under the mediation of Leopold, in the presence of the ministers of Leopold, the old constitution has been entirely abrogated; the states have divested themselves servilely of their powers. The Bishop was impudent enough to declare himself despotic, sole proprietor of the territory of Liege, sole master of disposing of it to his fancy, to alienate, change, sell, and make an assignment of it; sole and only legislator of the country; sole sovereign in civil matters; sole distributor of all places; sole depositary of all favours, of all privileges, so far as to *dispensate from the law every one he pleases*. These were for Liege, the fruits of Leopold's protection.

Can we after this, expect that his administration would have been more favourable to the Belgians? That on their account he would have kept his promise in a religious manner; that he would have been more faithful to the faith of treaties; more careful in fulfilling the obligations of a supreme rank? it is true, that the appearance of the first days of his reign have still portrayed the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and it is unluckily this false mask that has led the people of Liege astray; it is true, that the court of Vienna has made Europe resound with his principles of generosity, good faith, moderation, clemency, and justice.—Alas! the Belgians as well as the people of Liege, claimed nothing but justice—clemency was an outrage for them. They have in vain implored this justice. But where shall we meet with effects of this generosity, this honesty, this moderation and clemency.

Yet in this signal perfidiousness of Count Mercy, who, to procure his master the secret pleasure of entering into our provinces by right of conquest, has bribed the vilest mob, and caused them to assemble round the hotel of the states of Brabant, for preventing them through fear from adhering to the convention of the Hague; meanwhile, it was already concerted to

surrender the country, with the stupid chiefs of this false revolution, with the bribed chief of the Belgic army? We are sensible of every thing that is commodious and easy for a despot, only to derive his right from God and his sword; we are sensible of every contentment and satisfaction a tyrant enjoys, of having a pretence of treating a people like a vanquished, like a rebellious people; and thus to dictate them laws, inflict punishments, on them, put them under contribution, to crush them with foreign troops, to take away from them their arms, rights, and a liberty, of which they make so dreadful a use.

Is it by reinstating in the first places of government all those for which the nation had conceived a just horror? Is it by fomenting the dismal division of parties, by arming them against one another by seditions, sometimes against the states, and at other times against the democrates? Is it by arming the soldiers to-day for the partizans of Vandernoot, and to-morrow for the Vonkists—at all times against the citizens? Is it by not punishing the daily massacres and pillages of the soldiers? Is it by punishing with rigour the least excesses of the citizens? Is it by degrading the representatives of the people, by arbitrarily disposing of the magistrates of the people; by securing a corrupt majority in the states and tribunals, by arbitrary imprisonments, by military and nocturnal executions, carrying people forcibly off? Or is it by suffering the robberies of the soldiery, in those times of trouble and horror; by authorising theft, larceny, and all crimes; by walking with delight over the smouldering ruins of so many disorders; by eluding all conventions, treaties, and compacts? Is it finally, by calling for succour upon an additional heap of foreign and barbarous mercenaries, against a disarmed people, that Leopold, that his government have given proofs of their honesty, moderation, clemency, and generosity?

There was never a better opportunity for the House of Austria of attaching the Belgians by the powerful ties of gratitude; but as happily Leopold had not degenerated from his ancestors; as it is now plainly evinced that there is in the cabinet of Vienna an hereditary and followed-up system of oppression, it is time, high time to prevent the accomplishment of these destructive projects. It is no longer the yoke of Joseph the Second, no longer that of Leopold, nor that of Francis, who already arrogates to himself in a presumptuous manner, the right of oppressing us in his turn;—it is the yoke of the House of Austria that we are going to shake off. It is no longer privileges—it is common rights which we claim; it is a truly free constitution that we must have.

For these reasons, we, the people of the Belgic provinces, viz. of Brabant, the two Flanders, Haynault, Tournay, Tournetis, Namurois,

Namurois, Limbourg, Gelderland, Luxembourg, and the Lordship of Malines,

Considering the deterioration into which our former constitutions are fallen, by the successive and always increasing usurpation of our princes, and through the state of nullity to which they imperceptibly have reduced the representatives of the nation ;

Considering the numberless infractions upon our customs, our usages, liberties and franchises, without our most pressing supplications, our most energetic remonstrances, our strongest oppositions, ever having been able to succeed in obtaining the least justice, and in abating the pride of a House hereditarily greedy of authority, despotism, and vengeance.

Considering that these infractions were never more multiplied, our representation more degraded, our laws oftener eluded, abrogated, supplanted by laws of blood and iniquity, our uses more disowned, our liberty more circumscribed, our franchises violated with greater audaciousness, than under the two last reigns, and chiefly since the Austrians have re-entered those provinces.

Considering, that in spite of the most solemn conventions, the most sacred oaths, secret negotiations are machinating with foreign despots, the result of which will be to bring down upon our necks the yoke of tyranny, and to ravish us of what little is left us of our primitive rights, and of those which inaugural pacts did secure to us—

We declare in the face of Heaven and Earth, that all the ties which did tie us to the House of Lotharingian Austria, are broke off. We swear, we will never tie them again. We do swear not to acknowledge as our Duke, Count, Marquis, Lord, or Chief, under what denomination soever, the Archduke Francis King of Bohemia and Hungary, nor any of his successors, nor any prince or princess of the same House. We declare forthwith to be null and void, and as being made against our consent and express will, all conventions that may have been concluded with the said King of Bohemia and Hungary, by our heretofore representatives or any other. We do oppose all acts of inauguration that might have been proposed, executed, and ratified for the future. We declare moreover, not to acknowledge in whomsoever it may be, any right to the sovereignty of the Low Countries ; we will re-enter into our primitive rights, to make a free use of them, either by ourselves, or by freely chosen proxies, for the purpose of establishing a new form of government, to be adopted in conjunction with our brothers, the people of Liege.

And

And we also, the people of the country of Liege, Marquisate of Franchimont, county of Looz, &c.

Considering the enormous abuses that for several ages past have crept into our administration, the continual infringements of our bishops, and of the cathedral chapter, upon the rights and franchises of our cities and the common country; among the rest, the usurpation of the precious right of nominating our magistrates and representatives, which were guaranteed by our treaties of peace.

Considering the crimes our actual Bishop is found guilty of towards the nation, by forswearing his first oath, to maintain, keep, and observe in an inviolable manner, our peaces and privileges, that of Fexhe, those of XXII. &c.—by equally forswearing the second oath, no less sacred, which he had taken at the time of the Revolution of the 18th of August, 1789; by assuming an illegal power; by sacrificing our privileges to the greediness of the imperial chamber at Wetzlar; by not causing to be respected, by not respecting himself the sovereign and unappealable sentences at the empire of our tribunals of the XXII. and of their revisors; by exciting the animadversion and vengeance of the dicasteries of the empire against the formal and express declaration of the contrary, and of which he had taken the whole universe for witnesses; by obstinately refusing the proposals of peace, of amicable conciliation we had offered him, even at the expence of our rights; by preferring to set the despots of Germany against the country; by provoking us through so many enemies; by introducing into the country foreign troops, who have ransacked it; by carrying on a bloody and obstinate war against the people, by deceiving us afresh at the time of his return to Liege; by tolerating, authorising, and ordering all public and private vengeance; by prosecuting the best citizens; by filling the prisons with victims; shedding innocent blood on the scaffolds; by oppressing the people with taxes; by taking from them all their privileges.

Considering, moreover, the entire overthrow of our social conventions, by the most absurd, arbitrary and tyrannical deed, which put us upon a level with slaves, with wild beasts; which grants to the Bishop and his Chapter a monstrous concentration of all powers.

We declare Constantine Francis des Comtes de Hoenbroech, to have forfeited the principality of Liege; and after having discharged him, we declare him a perjurer, traitor of his country, guilty of concussions, violences, assassinations, of all the calamities that weighed and still weigh down the country of Liege, arraigned and convicted of high national treason: and
to

to make reparation for this, we swear we will prosecute him, his agents and imps, till justice shall be done to his crimes.

Considering besides, the baseness of our states, who have consented to such odious usurpations, the baseness of the recess, in which, stripping the people of their rights, divesting themselves of the powers which they exercised in their name, they thank the tyrant for his kindness, and the honour he shews them of reckoning them among his slaves ;

We declare the said states for ever unworthy of the confidence of the nation, discharge and annul them, withdraw from them for another order of things, the powers they so strangely abused.

Considering also, that the end of our association to the Germanic empire, has only been and could be nothing but the enjoyment of rights common to all the members of this confederation ; and only to find in it an effectual guarantee of the national independency and sovereignty—an assured protection against every usurpation ; in short, an impartial and speedy justice in all cases liable to appeal, and submitted to the decision of the supreme tribunals of the empire. But, that instead of these favours, the people of Liege have experienced nothing but additional oppression and tyranny from these tribunals ; that instead of maintaining national sovereignty, the imperial chamber has not ceased for this century to practise herself the most cruel incroachments, by indiscriminately meddling with matters of our policy and internal government, against the express tenor of the laws of the empire and the imperial capitulation ; that instead of repressing the usurpations, she authorises them by sentences, as illegal in their form as they are unjust at the bottom ; that she constantly usurps upon the privileges which we have from the empire ; that instead of distributing an impartial and punctual justice, it is always the strongest, the most powerful that is in the right, always the weak which she condemns ; that the proceedings are slow and expensive, and generally terminate almost always with the ruin of both parties.

Considering in short, that we are indebted to the attempts of this iniquitous tribunal for the greatest part of the hardships we labour under, for the loss of our best rights, the degradation of our national tribunal, the annihilation of our constitution, of our liberty, that our tyrants alone have found in it an useful support.

We declare, that we are no longer beholden to a contract, whose clauses, in order to be obligatory, ought to be reciprocal ; we look upon this contract as being null ; we renounce to making henceforth an integral part of the Germanic confederation,

ration, which has for ever contributed to aggravate our woes and slavery.

And after having separately broke off our respective social conventions; after having for ever shook off the yoke of our oppressors, we, the people of the Belgic provinces before cited, and the people of the country of Liege, declare by the same act, that from this moment we do unite our intentions, means, and forces, against our respective tyrants; we swear to take up the arms, and shall not deposit them till we have secured their independency; the rights we hold from nature, and the constitution that does no longer outrage these sacred rights.

We swear, in short, to be no more than one free and independent people; and these people offer their friendship to all the nations on earth, their alliance to all free nations, their example and assistance, in case of need, to all those that are willing to imitate them, and become free as they are.

In the name of the United People of the Low Countries and Liege,

THE GENERAL COMMITTEE, SITTING AT PARIS.

A D D R E S S

To the PEOPLE of the BELGIC COUNTRIES and of LIEGE, from, and in the name of the United Committee of the Two Nations.

**YE PEOPLE OF THE BELGIC COUNTRIES AND OF LIEGE,
OUR DEAR CO-CITIZENS!**

WHILST we were among you, whilst we had the permission of attaching ourselves, without fear and in your fight, to the sacred and soft duties which the mother country imposes upon all its children, you know it yourselves, whether we have performed these duties with zeal, whether our intentions were pure, whether our services were disinterested, whether we were amurated by other passions than the most ardent patriotism, whether we were devoured by another ambition, than to see our fellow citizens free and happy for ever.

It is against all kind of despotism and usurpation, it is for a liberty, in which justice and national will should be the only bounds; it is, in short, for the sovereignty of the people that we have toiled, fought, and suffered. Alas! our bitterest grief,
our

our most cutting pains, are to have seen so many insufficient efforts; and Heaven favour the cause of injustice, violence and tyranny; yet beware of blaming Heaven—it is just; it perhaps only wanted to try us; we were, perhaps, not yet ripe for liberty; it was necessary that a fatal experience should come and root out a remainder of still-prevailing prejudices; it was only adversity and hardships that could dissipate the delusions of an unreflected confidence, and inform us of the false advices that have seduced us, ruined us, and led us astray.

Dear fellow citizens, our private sentiments have not varied; always the same zeal for your happiness; always the holy enthusiasm of liberty, and always the ardent love of the people inflames your good, your true friends.

Far from you, as in the middle of you, these dear affections have followed us. They have often softened our woes; nay, sometimes they have afforded us comfort, in hopes, that after this time of trials, we should have become the wiser for it; all of us more disposed to receive in our hearts, the beneficent seed of the great principles of justice and equality; all of us more active and vigilant, early to pluck up the mortal weed which people might attempt to sow in it.

These ideas have supported us, and discouragement never entered our minds. Having chosen for our asylum a free, friendly, and hospitable ground, we have not spent the days of our exile in vain and useless regrets; we have made a good use of all the moments of our sufferings for the best of our country; all our wishes were directed towards this sole aim, the speedy delivery of our fellow citizens.

In these days of trouble and confusion, being an almost unavoidable consequence of a great shock, many will come to you under a deceitful outside; with an apparent modesty they will protest the purity of their patriotism; they will sigh for the infringements practised by despots upon your former constitutions; they will bind themselves with an oath, that they will restore them to you in all their integrity!—But do not trust them. They only want to seduce the too wanton credulity of the people;—They know well that these constitutions would soon facilitate their ambition to the prejudice of public liberty. They will take care not to tell you, that the social pact once broke in one part, is broke in all its parts; that thus a new contract is wanting, to determine new forms, that will fix new depositaries of the different powers: they will not tell you, that these powers being an emanation of the sovereignty of the people, the people alone have a right of vesting them in a manner, and in whom they think fit, useful, and suitable.

These whining men will flatter your prepossessions, caress
M your

your passions, set your hatred on edge. Alas ! mistrust them—we repeat this again : It is, because they know the whole empire of prejudices ; it is because they know, that transported through the fury of passion, you will be less informed of their proceedings ; it is because they hope, under favour of the disorders, the explosion of your hatred will cause, a division, and by dividing you, subdue you through one another.

These hypocrites will moreover tell you, that they only are armed for the religion of your fathers. Alas ! it is then above all you ought to mistrust them ; religion does not want such like defenders ; religion is strong enough to support itself through itself. But do not you see, that by means of this gross and palpable snare, they lead you straight on to intolerance, through superstition to ignorance, through ignorance to slavery ?

Besides, who means to attack religion ? Whence should come this folly, that we should be willing to ally holy things with concerns of human politics ? No, dear fellow citizens, the matters in question here, are only the rights, the liberties, and sovereignty of the people. These are gifts of Nature, of God himself ; the first religion is, not to attempt upon God's work, the most audacious impiety is perhaps that which endeavours to corrupt the essence of things. And we will and demand nothing but to bring back again our institutions, customs, uses and manners.

Let then, these men, that are so pure, so Godly, so just, let them if they dare, as we do, openly acknowledge the national sovereignty ; and that this acknowledgement be no longer vain and sterile ! Let them, if they dare, from this very moment, against the period when all common efforts will have stripped the present usurpers, bind themselves not to arrogate themselves, and not to suffer any body whatever to take to himself the supreme authority, unless it be through a free choice, free will, and sovereign orders of the assembled people ! Let them solemnly promise to convocate the nation, as soon as the first storm of the revolution gives some intervals of calm ! Let them if they dare, pay a loud and public homage to the Declaration of the Rights of Men ! Let them, in short, if they dare, no more flinch back, as they hitherto have done, and let them sign the same declaration which has served our works for a base, and for a touchstone to know and judge ourselves * ! It is by such signs
they

* DECLARATION

Signed individually by the BELGIANS and LIEGEOIS, composing the General Committee.

WE, the underwritten, composing the United Committee of the Belgians and Liegeois, and proposing for the sole aim of our deliberations, to take the most convenient

they will shew themselves truly patriotic, pure, and disinterested; it is thus they may hope to deserve our confidence and yours.

After having seen you free and happy, dear fellow citizens, this confidence will doubtless be the sweetest recompence of our zeal; but we do not intend to surprise it; you ought to be the judges of our intentions, our toils—we submit them without fear to your examination; those alone who sneak in darkness, and who follow the footsteps of falsehood and imposture, dread to be publicly known.

convenient measures for shaking off for ever the unsufferable yoke, under which our unhappy native countries are groaning; for expelling the tyrants who oppress them, and of making reign in their stead, liberty, equality, and the other imprescriptible and unalienable rights which nature has given to all men; in short, the politic and civil laws which will be *instituted and sanctioned* by the free will of the people.

Let us acknowledge an absolute, entire, and indivisible sovereignty of the nation, as the first base of all politic associations in general, and chiefly of that which we wish to see established between the Belgic provinces and the country of Liege.

In consequence of which we declare and certify by our individual signatures, that we are not set on and guided in whatever we do, and are to do for the future, by any view of ambition, cupidity and self-interest, nor any other passion than that of effectuating the greatest good of our fellow citizens, and of propagating the great and immoveable principles of order and justice.

We bind ourselves, in case we should succeed in re-entering the country, and assume the administration which our oppressors exercise in it in a tyrannical manner, not to make use of it ourselves than according to the method and with the modifications in the duration and the powers, which will be prescribed by our manifesto and the vouchers annexed to it; to preserve its exercise only provisionally, and till the epoch fixed beforehand, when the nation may have been convoked and chosen representatives; to give to our gestions all possible notoriety, by inviting even the Commons of the country, who will have the facility of naming commissioners for to share with us the cares of the said provisional administrations; renouncing for times to come, all authority, powers, management of public monies, charges and employments whatever, that are not conferred by the people legally and freely assembled.

We declare, that we will never suffer ourselves to be influenced by foreign powers, nor to let them meddle with our internal government. We do certify, that none of us have made a league, and each binds himself never to make a league, with the said foreign courts, through no private relation of self-interest, and not to receive from them any pension, gift, or bounty whatever.

We promise never to treat with any but free nations, and likewise never to listen to any proposal that would tend to alter the purity of our principles, and especially that of the sovereignty of the nation.

We declare from this moment against that period, as guilty of breaking their word, traitors of their native country, and perjurers towards the people, all those among us who would derogate from any of the promises and declarations of the present deed; who would listen to foreign insinuations, who would in foreign parts carry on a personal correspondences relative to public affairs, without the knowledge of the Committee, who would acknowledge the sovereignty in one or several individuals, that are separate or form a corporation; in short, any where else than in the whole nation.

In witness whereof have signed these presents in the month of January 1792, at Paris, &c.

Sovereignty dwells in the people ; all powers emanate from the people, no lawful ones can exist but those which the people exercise or delegate. *These are the incontestible principles with which we did start ; these are the basis of the constitution of which we offer a pattern, without pretending however to prescribe you any thing else but the exercise of your sovereignty, which is unalienable and imprescriptible.*

Dear fellow citizens, examine our works seriously ; see whether it is possible to separate the powers in a more precise and distinct manner ; see whether any known form of government is less liable than this to the usurpation of the ambitious, the practices of intriguers, and the avidity of corrupted men.

We took the French constitution for our base ; but we are happier than the French, if we know how to make use of our situations ; with us the application of principles will not be contradictory to principles ; with us, nothing foreign to the constitution will hinder its progress. We will have no other permanent and hereditary will than that of the nation ; this will is always legal and not arbitrary. We will possess no other than national riches ; they are the people's strength, and never cause their ruin. We shall know no other majesty than that of the nation ; this majesty does not dazzle, but it commands respect.

Compare, dear fellow citizens, compare this frank and open behaviour with the underhanded machinations which have too long imposed upon you. It is no longer a revolution of persons that is expected from you ; it is a revolution of opinions, which your friends advise you to ; it is no longer for the choice of tyrants that you are going to fight ; it is the sentence of your liberty or servitude that you are to pronounce. Have then, a watchful eye, do not go the wrong way to work ; such false steps might prove irreparable ; do not imprudently yield to the first intriguer who stiles himself your liberator ; he is likely to load you with heavier chains than those which oppress you. We conjure you in the name of your dearest concerns, do nothing, take no engagement that is not the general wish of the nation ; consult her, assemble her ; let her representation be equal, complete, universal ; it is then only that her will can manifest itself, and become a sacred law for all.

On our side, we solemnly promise, we swear in the sight of Heaven, to depose all authority, from the very moment it will be physically possible, to unite the majority of the representatives of the two nations, freely elected. But till then, it was necessary, to prevent a fatal anarchy ; and this is the reason why we have instituted a revolutionary power for to serve provisionally

vivorily, in lieu of all other powers. Its organization is simple; we confidentially submit it to your approbation; it is limited in its duration, it is limited in its functions, but not in the number of members who are to share the cares of it.

Surely so simple and loyal a proceeding, is not that of ambitious and intriguing people; sure these are no dreadful powers, whose exercise is divided among so many persons, and who are continually watched by the people. Alas! they would be rather burthenome and painful duties, if patriotism did not lessen the weight, if deliverance, if the happiness of our fellow citizens were not their reward.

But the trumpet of war has already sounded, the colours of liberty are already displayed, a generous nation calls us to follow them in their footsteps to victory and the downfall of tyranny. Citizens, arm yourselves, second us; we have made you a sacrifice of our wakings, troubles and pains; now we joyfully sacrifice to you our property, arms, and all our blood; we are going to take up arms, do the same, and let us swear not to depose them before we are victorious and free.

(Signed) *The Committee of the United People of the Low Countries and Liege, sitting at Paris.*

REVOLUTIONARY POWER.

Article 1. The revolutionary power shall reside in a central committee, which will be composed of fifty persons, chosen from those that form the united committee of Belgics and Liegeois, who have prepared the revolution, and chosen by the committee itself.

2. With this committee are to correspond all private committees established in the different places of the Low Countries, and the country of Liege.

3. The private committees cannot convocate the people for electing new provisory magistratures, before they have asked of the central committee, some commissioners for to preside at this election.

4. Every provisory committee, and administration, established in each country, having the consent of the people, will be subordinate to the central committee, and shall individually sign a declaration, similar to that which the members of the united committee have signed.

5. Wherever there is no provisional administration, the central committee will provide for it, by sending commissioners thither in order to establish some; either through the people's free election, or in any other manner agreeable to the people.

6. The

6. The number of members that are to compose the provisional administration, will be proportioned to that of the inhabitants of the commonality, and all little as possible; the commissioners will be charged with the care of terminating upon them.

7. The provisional administrations shall be charged in a special manner to maintain public order and tranquillity in their respective commonalities; to prevent pillaging, violences and excesses, even against those whose patriotism might be suspected; and to collect the public monies in their commons, in order to give an account of the same, to the central committee.

8. The provisional administrations shall moreover take care that public properties be respected, no havock or waisting whatever shall be committed, before the nation, assembled by their freely chosen representatives, has disposed of them for the public good, and particularly to give lawful indemnifications to those who were sufferers during the reign of despotism.

9. The central committee shall watch over the general tranquillity of the whole country, provide for its common defence, have the management of public monies, destined for the general expences, and the inspection of those that are at the disposal of the private administrations.

10. The revolutionary power will hold its public sittings for any thing that concerns the administration except the council of war. Every fourth night it is to give an account of its proceedings, and especially of the public monies.

11. In proportion as the revolution is effected in a province, castle, ward, bailiwick, district, commonality, or town, the central committee shall be obliged to convocate in the form as directed; the which are to chuse the number of representatives they ought to have, by taking the population for that base; viz. one representative for 10,000 souls, and these representatives thus elected, are to join the central committee, and to exercise in common the functions of the revolutionary power.

12. From the moment that there are one hundred and fifty thus chosen, which representatives will form a well decided majority, they are to form themselves into a constituent assembly, and then the revolutionary power will cease.

Of the Method of convocating the People for the Choice of their Representatives.

Art. 1. The revolutionary power shall denote the extent of the different commons, as much as can be done, one town for a center of each commonality.

2. Each

2. Each commonality shall contain a population of ten 10,000 souls at least.

3. The commonalities that contain from 10,000 to 15,000 souls, shall name a representative; from 15,000 to 25,000, two; and so on in the same proportion.

4. In order to facilitate the elections, the citizens of each commonality shall unite in different assemblies.

5. Each assembly shall make their scrutiny separately, and shall send the report of it to the chief manor house of the commonality.

6. As to the manner on balloting, that which is prescribed in the essay of the constitution shall be observed.

Essay on a Constitution which is to be adopted by the Provinces of the Low Countries, and of Liege.

The Belges and Liegeois united in a general committee, convinced that ignorance, forgetfulness, or the fighting of the rights of men and citizens, are the only causes of public misfortunes and of corruption of governments;

Acknowledging besides, as an undisputable truth, that the best constitution is that which is most conformable to the rights of men, have resolved, before they propose a form of constitution to be adopted by the two united nations, to express in a succinct declaration, their private sentiments on the said rights.

Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizens.

Art 1. All men are born and remain equal in rights.

2. The natural and imprescriptible rights of men, are liberty, property, safety, and resistance against oppression.

3. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which ensure to other men his equals, the enjoyment of the same rights.

4. The aim of all politic associations and of the institution of any government whatever, ought to be the preservation of those rights.

5. The general will of a people or a nation can alone concur in forming their constitution, that is to say, the act which determines the form of their government, by fixing the bounds of their different powers, and which establishes the fundamental laws of society.

6. The nation has at all times a right to change and meliorate by an act of the common will, the constitution they have adopted, and to take measures which seem to them the fittest for insuring their own happiness.

7. Sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; this sovereignty

reignty is absolute, entire, indivisible, and inalienable. No individual, no corporation can therefore exercise any authority, that does not expressly emanate from her.

8. All those that are invested by the nation with any authority, are her proxies, her clerks, or deputies, and are consequently accountable to her for their conduct.

9. In order to prevent these proxies, especially such who are intrusted with the legislative or executive power from becoming the oppressors of the nation, she has a right at such periods as are fixed by the constitutional act, to make them assume a private life again.

10. The social pact ought to have equality for its base: every citizen ought therefore to be equally admitted to public functions. To suppose that people were born kings, legislators, senators, and magistrates, is in sound politics an absurdity.

11. The law being an act of sovereignty, it ought to be the expression of general will: every citizen is thus entitled to concur either in person, or by his representatives, with its formation.

12. The law, whether protecting or punishing, ought to be the same for all citizens.

13. In social order, liberty, consists in being able to do all that does not hurt others; it has no other bounds than those which are determined by the law.

14. All that is not prohibited by law, can not be hindered, and nobody can be compelled to do what it does not ordain.

15. Law can only prohibit actions that are hurtful to society, and can prescribe nothing but what is useful.

16. None ought to be molested, for the sake of their opinions, and their free communications, through whatever channel, cannot be hindered.

17. Two or several citizens, have a right to assemble at all times, to consult one another on the common welfare; and every citizen, whether in private, or in society, is entitled to address to the representatives of the nation, petitions that are individually signed.

18. The right, of property purports, that a man may freely dispose of his property, moveables and unmoveables, and of his person.

19. No citizen can be deprived of his property, unless, a case of public necessity, duly proved, does require it in an evident manner, and upon condition of a lawful and previous indemnity.

20. Safety requires, that every citizen has a right to wear arms for his defence and that of the state.

21. No

21. No citizen can be arrested, nor detained but in cases determined by law, and pursuant to the forms it has prescribed.

22. Those who solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, any arbitrary orders, shall be punished, but every citizen, called or seized upon by virtue of the law, shall immediately obey; he becomes guilty through resistance.

23. Every man being presumed to be innocent, till he is declared to be guilty, if it is thought indispensable to arrest him, every rigour that would not be necessary for securing his person, shall be severely repressed by law.

24. In all prosecutions for crimes, a citizen has a right to be heard by himself, and his councillors to enquire after the cause and nature of the accusation laid to his charge; to be confronted to the witnesses; to administer all the proofs that may be favourable to him; to insist upon a speedy, impartial, and public trial, and none can be compelled to administer proofs against himself.

25. The law shall establish none but strictly and evidently necessary punishment; and none can be punished but by dint of a law, established and promulgated prior to the offence, and described in a lawful manner.

26. The guarantee of the rights of men and citizens, makes a public force indispensable; this force then is instituted for the advantage of every body, and not for the private utility of those who are intrusted with it.

27. For the support of a public force, and the expences of the administration, a common contribution is indispensable: it ought to be equally assessed among all the citizens, according to their faculties.

28. The representatives of the people have a right to examine the necessity of the public contribution; to consent to it freely; to follow it's employment, and to determine its *quantum*, assessment, levying, and duration.

29. If one or several individuals, should be willing, without the express consent of the nation, to change the constitution, if one or several individuals should lay hold of the authority for oppressing and subduing their fellow citizens, resistance and insurrection would not only be a right, but even the most sacred of all duties.

II. *Of the Form of the New Republic.*

Art. 1. The Belgic, formerly Austrian provinces, and the country of Liege, will henceforth form one state only, under the denomination of *Belgic Republic*.

2. This Republic, shall be a *representative democracy*. The representatives, shall be the legislative body and the senate.

3. Its territory shall be divided into districts; and each district subdivided into commonalties.

4. All the inhabitants of the republic, having the undermentioned qualities requisite for being an active citizen, are to choose representatives, to whom the nation delegates for a while either her legislative, executive, or judiciary power.

5. All active citizens, that compose each commonalty or each district, shall have a right to elect, pursuant to the formalities, that will be determined, such among them, who under the title of municipal affairs, or administrators of the commonalties, will be appointed to manage the private affairs of the respective commonalties or districts.

III. *Of the Qualities that are requisite for being an active Citizen.*

I. The qualities required for being an active citizen are,

1st. To be a citizen of the republic.

2dly. To be full 21 years old,

II. Citizens of the republic are either the male individuals born in the Low Countries, or in the country of Liege, and who are domiciliated there.

III. Becoming citizens of the republic, are foreigners that have inhabited its territory for the space of two years together; if they have besides acquired in it immoveables, or married a Belgic or Liege woman, or formed a settlement of agriculture and commerce, and if they have caused themselves to be entered in the register of their commonalty, as having a desire of enjoying the right of an active citizen, six months at least before the election of representatives.

Of Public Powers.

Art. 1. The nation from whom alone all powers do emanate, in the physical impossibility of exercising them herself, consent to delegate them, in order to be exercised in her name.

2. The legislative power is delegated to an assembly of representatives, that are temporary and freely elected by the people, to be exercised by her with the sanction of the senate, in the case and manner to be determined hereafter.

3. The executive power is delegated to an elective and temporary senate, for to be exercised in the manner to be determined hereafter.

4. The judiciary power is delegated to judges elected for a time by the people:

Of the Legislative Power.

Art. 1. The assembly of representatives forming the legislative body, is permanent.

2. It

2. It is to be renewed every other year, in full right, by free elections. Each period of two years will form a legislature.

3. The number of representatives will be fixed upon the sole base of the population, at the rate, for instance, of one deputy for ten thousand individuals.

4. All active citizens, whatever trade, profession, or contribution, can be elected representatives of the nation.

5. The constituent assembly is to regulate the cases of incompatibility.

6. The members of the legislative body are inviolable, that is to say, they cannot be called to account, accused, nor judged at any time for what they have said, wrote, or done, during the exercise of their functions of Legislators.

7. The nation exclusively grants the delegates to the legislative body the following powers and functions.

First. To propose and decree laws, the senate can only invite the legislative body, to take an object into consideration.

Second. To fix the public expenses.

Third. To establish public contributions, to determine their nature, quota, duration, and the manner of collecting them.

Fourth. To make the repartition of the direct contribution among the commons of the republics, to watch over the employments of all public revenues, and to call others to account for it.

Fifth. To determine the standard weight, stamps, and value of the coin.

Sixth. To determine every year the strength of the armies, the pay and number of individuals of each guard, the rules of admission, and promotion, the forms of enlisting and discharging, the treatment of troops in case of their being disbanded ;

Seventh. To prosecute before the high national court the responsibility of those who have any share in the executive power, and to prosecute before the same court, all those that are impeached for crimes of high treason, in cases to be determined by the penal code.

8. War cannot be decided on, but by a decree of the legislative body sanctioned by the senate, and ratified by the consent of the people in the manner hereafter mentioned.

In case of imminent or all ready begun hostilities, for supporting an ally for the cause of liberty, or for preserving a right by dint of arms, the senate is to give without the least delay, notice of it to the legislative body, and to point out the motives.

If the legislative body is broke up the senate shall immediately convoke them.

9. On the simple requisition of the legislative body, the senate ought to begin peace negotiations ; but can conclude nothing without the consent of the legislative body, and the ratification of the people.

10. In case of abandoning or exchanging part of the territory of the republic, the consent of the inhabitants of such a territory will be provisorily required.

11. The moment war ceases, the legislative body is to fix the time which the troops shall be disbanded.

12. It is moreover the legislative body's business to propose and ratify treaties of alliance; but no treaty of alliance can be made but with free people, and for the defence of common liberty.

13. The legislative body has a right of making regulations for the manner and the place of their sittings; interior police; the order of their deliberations; the case in which they are to form into a general committee, and the censure to be exercised upon their members.

14. Nothing can be decided but by an absolute majority of suffrages; and to the end that there may be a decision, the two-thirds of the members ought to be present.

Of the Senate, or Executive Power.

1. The supreme executive power shall reside in a senate, whose members are to be elected by the people in the manner to be determined hereafter.

2. It shall be composed of fifteen persons, and entirely renewed every two years, like the assembly of representatives.

3. As soon as the senate is assembled, the senators are to divide among themselves the different branches of administration that will form as many offices or committees.

4. The senators considered as members of an office or committee, will have, each in their respective department, functions that belong to this department: they will sign the relative orders; in short, they will exercise the private powers that are joined to each department by the constituent body.

5. Each senator will be responsible for the orders he has individually signed.

6. The senators shall give every week an account to the senate in a body, of their proceedings in the department they are entrusted with. The senate will censure, amend, and ratify them according as they shall think it equitable.

7. The senators shall moreover, at the same periods, present to the senate a circumstantiated account of the expences of their respective departments; the senate shall examine and modify them, according as they shall think right.

8. When the transactions of an office are approved of by the majority of the senate, then this majority becomes responsible for them, when it is discovered that any prevarication has taken place.

9. As soon as the senate has divided itself into offices, the senators ought, each in the departments assigned to them, employ themselves with forming a plan of organization for the said offices. They shall present them to the senate in a body, who are to discuss them, and make a general project of them, which they are to present to the legislative body for their approbation. To this project will be joined a statement of the expences of each office, and another of the subaltern agents that ought to be employed in it.

10. The senate, as a deliberating body, shall discuss the decrees of the legislative body that will be presented to their sanction; and with respect to the order of deliberations, they are to follow the method which will be prescribed by the constituent body.

11. The senate in a body shall also discuss the projects that are presented to them, either by the respective departments, or even by one single member; to the end if they think them to be useful, of making a proposal of the same to the legislative body, pursuant to the formalities that are to be determined by the constitution.

12. The senators deliberating upon the decrees presented to the senate by the legislative power, their discussion and sanction will be inviolable; that is to say, that they cannot be called to an account, accused, and judged, at any time for what they might have said, wrote, or decided.

13. These deliberations of the senate shall be public, except those that relate to military transactions; and nothing can be decided in it, unless there are at least the four-fifth part of the members present, and with a majority of two-thirds of the votes.

14. The senate is the highest power of the general administration of the republic; the care of maintaining public order and tranquility is trusted to them.

15. To the senate is delegated the care of waking for the exterior safety of the republic, and to maintain its rights and possessions.

16. When the question is to appoint an agent for the public negotiations, the senate ought to present to the legislative power the citizen they think the fittest for it, and the legislative body either may accept or refuse him. In case of a refusal, the senate has to present another subject, and so on, till one is approved of by the two others.

17. The senate shall inspect the fabrication, weight, and standard of the coin.

18. The senate shall issue letters patent, warrants, and commissions, to public placemen, or others, who have to receive any

Of

Of the Sanction.

Art. 1. The decrees of the legislative power, shall be presented for sanction to the senate, who may refuse them their consent.

2. In cases where the senate, refuses their consent, they shall give notice to the legislative body of the motives of their refusal; and if, notwithstanding the legislative body has any motive of refusing, and persist in their decree, then the people must be appealed to; the senate ought to order the impression and publication of the decree contested for in the space of a fortnight, and convocate the active citizens, to the end that within a month after the publication of the decree, they may assemble, and deliberate by *yes or no*, for the admittance or rejection of the law.

3. A law thus rejected by the people, can afterwards have no more vigour, although the senate, on a new proposal of the legislative body should sanction it, if the people, convocated for this purpose do not formally comply with it.

4. The consent of the senate shall be expressed on each decree in the following terms: *The senate is of the same opinion, and will cause to be executed*; and the refusal will be expressed thus, *The senate differs in opinion, for such and such reasons*.

Of the Promulgation of Laws.

Art. 1. The senate is charged to cause the laws to be sealed with the seal of the state; and to cause them to be promulgated, and executed.

2. There shall be drawn two original copies of each law, both of which shall be signed by the president of the senate, and sealed with the state seal.

3. One of them shall remain deposited in the archives, of the seal, and the other shall be delivered to the archives of the legislative body.

4. The promulgation of the laws shall be thus worded: *In the name of the people, the assembly of representatives has decreed, and the senate orders, as follows*.

5. This promulgation, for laws of necessity declared to be urgent, shall take place a fortnight after the date when the legislative body has presented the law for sanction, if required, and forty days for laws that are decreed without urgency.

Of the Judiciary Power.

Art. 1. The judiciary power can in no case be exercised, by the legislative body, nor by the senate.

2. It

2. It will be entrusted to judges that are temporarily elected by the people; and justice shall be administered by them in a gratuitous manner. The public informer shall also be elected by the people.

3. A judge cannot be discharged, but for offences proved juridically; nor can he be suspended but upon a legally admitted accusation.

4. Judges of the peace, will be established in each commonalty; and in each district, at least one civil and criminal tribunal.

5. The institution of trials by juries, will be at first admitted, with respect to the criminal; and as to the civil, as soon as the civil code is rendered plain and succinct.

6. No action can be brought before common Tribunals, but by justifying that the plaintiff has summoned his adverse party before the Judges of the peace, who are considered as simple conciliators and not as Judges.

7. The trial of criminal law-suits are to be public; and the accused person cannot be refused the assistance of a counsellor, nor the enjoyment of other rights, made mention of at the 24th article of the declaration of the rights of men and citizens.

8. The sentences of Judges, both civil, and criminal ought to be given on just grounds.

9. The expences of imprisonment and others, shall be at the charge of the public treasure.

10. A supreme tribunal of revision, shall be established.

11. There shall also be established, an high national court, for trying crimes of conjuration, rebellion, and high treason.

12. The constituent body is to regulate the number, repartition, and competency of the tribunal.

Of making Changes in the Constitution:

1. The nation, has an imprescriptible right of altering their constitution.

2. The constitution contains principles and formalities.

3. A principle declared constitutional, and that may afterwards be found wrong, or not accurately stated, the legislative body shall always have a right of altering, with the sanction of the senate, and the ratification of the people.

4. In the same manner, and under the same restrictions, the legislative body may at any time declare to be a constitutional principle any politic proposal, the truth of which shall be acknowledged.

5. Whereas constitutional formalities having something of arbitrariness in them, and as the frequently altering them might tend

tend to disorganize the politic machine, the nation consents to make use of the right which they have of modifying, simplifying and changing them, only at fixed and determined periods.

Of the Manner of Scrutiny.

In all elections the following method of scrutiny shall be made use of :

Art. 1. Every one that votes, is to write on his ballot as many names as there are persons to chuse.

2. This ballot will be examined in each of the private assemblies ; and it ought to be observed, that lists must be made of them which contain the name of each candidate, with the number of suffrages he has obtained.

3. A copy of these lists duly examined, is to be sent to the chief manor house of the commonality, where they will be examined again.

4. Such who after this verification, have obtained an absolute majority of the suffrages, that is to say, half of the votes and *plus* one, shall be definitively elected, and the number of persons still to be chosen will diminish accordingly.

5. Afterwards a new list is to be made, concerning the names of those who have obtained the relative majority of suffrages : this list shall be in a fourfold number of that of the persons, that are, or remain still to be chosen, for instance, if four persons were still to be chosen, a list ought to be drawn out of sixteen who, in the first scrutiny would have obtained the most suffrages.

6. The lists being made and sent to the private assemblies, they must proceed to the second scrutiny. Each of the voters is to write as many names as there remain persons to be elected ; but he must necessarily chuse among the names of those that are pointed out by the lists.

7. The examination is to be performed in the same manner as at the first scrutiny. Those who have then obtained the relative majority of suffrages, will be definitively elected. A note is to be kept of those that follow immediately according to the order of suffrages, for to supply the others.

8. This method of scrutiny shall be adopted for all elections ; but the following manner shall be observed in the choice of the senate :

First. After the representatives who are to compose either the legislative body or the senate, are elected in the above manner, there is to be made of them, by the senate in place, and for the first time by the constituent body, a general list, that shall be printed, posted up, and sent to all private assemblies, a fortnight before the election of senators.

Second. Each

Second. Each voter is to chuse in this list, those he thinks the fittest for filling up the functions of a senator, and he is to write upon his ballot as many names as senators are to be chosen.

Third. This scrutiny will be for the first time verified in each private assembly, who shall send their list to the then governing senate, for a general and final verification.

Fourth. The fifteen persons, that have in this manner obtained the greatest part of suffrages, shall be members of the senate; and upon their refusal, those who follow them immediately according to the number of suffrages.

E N G L A N D.

THE attention of the people of England is at this time particularly attracted to a consideration on the imperfect state of their Representation in Parliament. The fact of that imperfect state sufficiently demonstrates the necessity of an amendment. But as this very interesting fact is not so extensively known as it ought to be, we shall lay before the public, a complete view of the BRITISH REPRESENTATION, arranged under the descriptive heads, of Boroughs which are private property, with the names of the proprietors; Boroughs under particular influence, with the names of those who possess that influence. Our third list will consist of those Boroughs, whose electors usually dispose of their suffrages to the highest bidder; with the number of voters, as nearly as can be ascertained in them all. Afterwards we shall proceed to the independent Boroughs, Cities, and Counties.

A List of the Boroughs in England, which may be denominated Private Property; with the Names of the Proprietors, and Number of Voters in each.

Boroughs.	Proprietors.	Voters.
Aldborough, <i>Yorksh.</i>	Duke of Newcastle	60
Alborough, <i>Suffolk,</i>	P. C. Crispigny	30
Amersham	William Drake	70
Appleby	Earls of Thanet and Lonsdale	100
Ashburton	Lord Say and Sir R. Palke	40
	O	Bedwin

Boroughs.	Proprietors.	Voters.
Bedwin	Earl of Aylesbury	70
Beeralston	Earl of Beverley	60
Bishops Castle	Lord Clive	50
Bletchingly	Sir Robert Clayton	80
Boroughbridge	Duke of Newcastle	70
Bossiney	Earl of Bute	12
Brackley	Duke of Bridgewater	24
Bramber	D. of Rutland and Sir H. G. Calthorp	36
Buckingham	Marquis of Buckingham	13
Calne	Marquis of Lansdown	24
Castle Rising	Earls of Suffolk and Orford	2
Clitheroe	A. Curzon and T. Lister, Esqrs	40
Cockermouth	Earl of Lonsdale	150
Downton	Earl of Radnor	20
Dunwich	Sir J. Vanneck and M. Barne	12
East Looe	J. Buller	50
Eye	Earl Cornwallis	100
Gatton	R. Ladbroke and W. Currie, Esqrs	2
St. Germain	Lord Elliot	20
Grampound	The same	24
Grinstead, East	Duke of Dorset	34
Haslemere	Earl of Lonsdale	50
Heytesbury	P. A'Court, Esq.	50
Higham Ferrers	Earl Fitzwilliam	80
Horsham	Duke of Norfolk and Lady Irvine	40
Ilchester	Mr. Troward	150
Knareborough	Duke of Devonshire	100
Launceston	Duke of Northumberland	20
Liskard	Lord Elliot	50
Ludgershall	Lord Sydney	60
Malmesbury	Doctor Wilkins	13
Malton	Earl Fitzwilliam	200
St. Mawes	Marquis of Buckingham	20
Midhurst	Earl of Egremont	1
Milbourne Port	W. Medlycott	9
Minehead	J. Fownes Luttrell	50
Northallerton	E. Lascelles, Esq.	150
Newport, Hants.	Rev. Mr. Holmes	24
Newport, Corn.	Duke of Northumberland	24
Newton, Lanc.	Peter Legh, Esq.	30
Newton, Hants.	Sir R. Worsley	80
Orford	Earl of Hertford	22
Penryn	Sir Francis Basset	140
Petersfield	W. Jolliffe, Esq.	130

Pomfret

Boroughs.	Proprietors.	Voters.
Pomfret	Ld Galway, Sir R. Winn & Mr. Walsfr	300
Richmond	Sir Thomas Dundas	200
Rippon	— — Aislacie, Esq.	130
Sarum	Lord Camelford	1
Steyning	Sir J. Honeywood	100
Tamworth	Marq. of Townshend and Mr. Peel	180
Tavistock	Duke of Bedford	100
Thirsk	Sir Thomas Frankland	50
Tregony	R. Barwell, Esq.	80
Truro	Lord Falmouth	25
Wendover	J. B. Church, Esq.	150
Wenlock	Sir H. Bridgman	50
Weobly	Marquis of Bath	40
Westbury	Earl of Abingdon	24
West Looe	J. Buller	50
Wilton	Earl of Pembroke	24
Woodstock	Duke of Marlborough	150
Wooton Bassett	Earl of Clarendon	100
Yarmouth, Hants.	Messrs. Holmes and Jervoise	40

A List of the Boroughs, &c. under particular Influence, with the Names of those Persons, who held that Influence; and the supposed number of Electors.

Boroughs.	Proprietors.	Voters.
Andover	E. of Portsmouth & Mr. Ironmonger	24
Arundel	Duke of Norfolk	180
Banbury	Earl of Guildford	18
Bath	Marquis of Bath and Earl Camden	32
Beverley	T. A. Pelham, Esq.	800
Bewdley	Lord Westcote	14
Berwick	Lds Delaval & Lisburne & J. Wilkinfon	500
Bridgenorth	J. Whitmore, Esq.	500
Callington	Duke of Bedford	20
Cambridge, Univer.	Mr. Pitt (<i>Minister</i>)	650
Camelford	Rev. Mr. Philips	19
Chester	Earl Grosvenor	750
Chippenham	Sir S. Fludyer and H. Dawkins, Esq.	150
Christchurch	Lord Malmesbury and Geo. Rose	24
Cirencester	Earl Bathurst	500
Dartmouth	Treasury and Admiralty	20
Derby	Duke of Devonshire	600
	O 2	Devizes

Boroughs.	Proprietors.	Voters.
Devizes	J. Sutton, Esq.	39
Droitwich	Lord Foley	14
St. Edmondsbury	Duke of Grafton	34
Fowey	Lord Edgecumbe	63
Grantham	Duke of Rutland Lord Brownlow	350
Grimsbj	C. A. Pelham	70
Guildford	Lords Onslow and Grantley	100
Harwich	John Robinson, Esq.	100
Helfton	Duke of Leeds	36
Hindon	W. Beckford, Esq.	200
Huntingdon	Earl of Sandwich	180
Honiton	Sir George Yonge	300
St. Ives	W. Praed, Esq.	120
Leominster	Duke of Norfolk and Lord Bateman	300
Leithwithiel	Earl of Mount Edgecumbe	24
Ludlow	Lord Clive	350
Lymington	Sir H. Burrard	80
Lynn	Lord Walpole	250
Malden	Messrs. Strutt and Western	180
Marlborough	Earl of Aylesbury	3
Marlow	W. Clayton & W. Lee Antonie, Esqrs	200
St. Michael	Lord Falmouth and Sir F. Basset	40
Monmouth	Duke of Beaufort	700
Morpeth	Earl of Carlisle	180
Newark	Dukes of Newcastle and Rutland	650
Newcastle, Staff.	Marquis of Stafford	590
Newport	Rev. Mr. Holmes	24
Oakhampton	Duke of Bedford and Earl Spencer	180
Oxford City	Duke of Marlborough	800
—— University	The Ministry	600
Plympton	Earl of Mount Edgecumbe	100
Plymouth	Admiralty	60
Portsmouth	The same in part, & Sir J. Carter	110
Queenborough	Admiralty	130
Retford	Duke of Newcastle	100
Rocheſter	Admiralty	600
Saltaſh	J. Buller, Esq.	38
Scarborough	Duke of Rutland	44
Stamford	Earl of Exeter	400
Sudbury	P. C. Crispigny	500
Thetford	Duke of Grafton	30
Tiverton	Lord Harrowby and Sir J. Duntze	14
Totneſs	D. of Bolton & F. Buller Yarde, Esq.	37
Wells	Clement Tudway	350
Wigan	Sir H. Bridgeman & Rev. Mr. Cotes	200
	Wincheſter	

Boroughs.	Proprietors.	Voters.
Winchester	D. of Chandos & H. Penton, Esq.	60
Windfor	The Castle -	250
Wycomb	Marquis of Lanfdown -	40

A List of such Boroughs, &c. as are not entirely, but in a considerable degree, under Influence—In some Places the Influence elects one Member, and Money the other.

Boroughs.	Proprietors.	Voters.
St. Albans	Marquis of Salisbury, Earl Spencer, and Lord Grimstone	500
Boston	Duke of Ancafter	200
Bridgewater	Earl Poulett -	250
Cambridge	John Mortlake, Esq. -	200
Carlisle	Duke of Norfolk -	650
Evesham	Sir J. Rushout -	600
Gloucester	Duke of Norfolk -	2600
Hertford	M. of Salisbury and Mr. Dimsdale	550
Hereford	Duke of Norfolk -	1100
Lancaster	Sir George Warren -	1800
Leicester	S. Smith, Esq. -	1400
Lewes	Lord Pelham -	230
Lincoln	Lord Delaval -	1000
Maidstone	Earl of Aylesbury and Mr. Taylor	600
Northampton	Earl of Northampton -	800
Preston	Earl of Derby -	600
Salisbury	Earl of Radnor -	54
Shaftesbury	Sir J. Call -	290
Shrewsbury	W. Pulteney, Esq. -	400
Warwick	Earl of Warwick -	400

A List of those Boroughs, &c. in which the Electors commonly Dispose of their Franchises to the highest Bidders.

Boroughs,	Voters.	Boroughs.	Voters.
Aylesbury	350	Ipswich	6000
Bodmin	36	Southampton	600
Coventry	1600	Stockbridge	60
Colchester	1300	Wallingford	130
Heydon	110	Worcester	1500
Hull	1000		

There are several other Boroughs in which the Electors are governed by the same Principle; but the Bribery is managed among them with less Notoriety.

A List

A List of those Boroughs, &c. which are reputed to be Independent, or nearly so.

Boroughs.	Voters.	Boroughs.	Voters.
Abingdon	500	Newcastle, Northum.	2400
Barnstable	250	Norwich	3000
Bedford	1400	Nottingham	1600
Bristol	6000	Peterborough	500
Canterbury	1000	Reading	500
Cricklade	1200	Shoreham	1000
Durham	1000	Southwark	1900
Exeter	1200	Westminster	13000
Litchfield	500	Yarmouth, Norfolk.	750
Liverpool	200	York	1500
London	7000		

The COUNTIES, CINQUE-PORTS, WALES and SCOTLAND, in our next.—If there are any Mistakes, we shall thankfully receive a proper Account of them.

Confidential

Confidential Letter from the King of the French to the King of England.

“ SIR—MY BROTHER,

Paris, May 1.

“ I send this letter by M. Chauvelin, whom I have appointed my minister plenipotentiary at your Majesty's court. I embrace this opportunity to express to your Majesty, how sensible I am of all the public marks of affection you have given me. I thank you for not having become a party to the concert formed by certain powers against France. From this I see you have formed a better judgment of my true interests, and a more correct opinion of the state of France. Between our two countries new connections ought to take place. I think I see the remains of that rivalry which has done so much mischief to both, wearing daily way. It becomes two kings, who have distinguished their reigns by a constant desire to promote the happiness of their people, to connect themselves by such ties, as will appear to be durable, in proportion as the two nations shall have clearer views of their own interests. I have every reason to be satisfied with your Majesty's ambassador at my court. If I do not give the same rank to the minister whom I have sent to yours, you will nevertheless perceive, that by associating in the mission with him M. de Talle- rand, who by the letter of the constitution, can sustain no public character, I consider the success of the alliance in which I wish you to concur, with as much zeal as I do, as of the highest importance. I consider it as necessary to the stability, to the respective constitutions, and the internal tranquility of our two kingdoms; and I will add, that our union ought to command peace to Europe,

“ *I am your good Brother,*

(Signed)

“ LOUIS.”

On the fifteenth day of May 1792, the same ambassador presented to Lord Grenville, secretary for foreign affairs, the following memoir :

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty the king of the French, has orders to transmit to his Excellency Lord Grenville, secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, the following note.

“ The King of the French in sending a minister plenipotentiary to London, has specially charged him to commence his mission, by manifesting, to the British government the powerful reasons which have determined France to declare war against the KING of HUNGARY and BOHEMIA. He thinks that he owes this explanation to the purity of the intentions that animate him, as well as to the laws of good neighbourhood, and to the value which
he

he attaches to every thing that can maintain mutual confidence and friendship between two nations, which now more than ever have motives to draw them more closely to each other.

Having become the King of a free nation; after having sworn the agents to maintain the constitution which the nation formed for itself, he could not but feel most profoundly all the attacks that were made against that Constitution, and his probity commanded him to counteract and prevent them.

“ The King saw a grand conspiracy formed against France. This league covered, under an insulting pity for him, the preparations of their designs; and his Majesty has had the grief to count among them, even Frenchmen, whose fidelity the most powerful motives, and the most particular ties ought to have guaranteed.

The King did not omit to try the means of persuasion to recal them to their duty, and to dissipate this threatening league, which supported and strengthened their criminal hopes. But the Emperor, Leopold, the declared mover and chief of this vast plot, and after his decease, Francis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, did not satisfy any of the frank and reiterated demands of the King. After having exhausted by delays and vague answers, the patience of the French; worn out every day by new provocations, the Princes have successively avowed the coalition of the powers against France; they did not deny the part they had taken, nor conceal that which they intended to take. Far from being disposed to dissolve the plot by their influence, they tried to connect with it facts, heretofore foreign to it, and upon which France has never refused justice to the persons interested; and, as if the King of Hungary denied to consecrate the perpetuity of his attack against the sovereignty of the French empire, he has declared that this coalition, equally injurious to the King and the Nation, could not cease so long as France should preserve the serious motives that have provoked the commencement—that is to say, so long as France, jealous of her independence, shall not relax from our new Constitution.

“ Such an answer, proceeded and supported by preparations the most evidently hostile, and by an ill-dissembled protection of rebels, could not appear to the National Assembly, to the King, and to all France, but as a manifest aggression, for it was an actual commencement of war to announce that they were collecting the materials for it: that they were calling together their forces from all parts, *to constrain the inhabitants of a country to alter the form of government which they had freely chosen, and which they had sworn to defend.* This was the sense, and the substance of all the evasive answers of the minister of the Emperor,

peror, and of the King of Hungary, to the simple and loyal explanations which the King demanded.

“ Thus the King is constrained to enter upon a war, which was, in truth, already declared against him, but religiously faithful to the principles of her constitution, whatever may be ultimately the fate of this war, France repels all idea of aggrandisements :—she wishes to preserve her limits, her liberty, her constitution and her incommutable right to reform herself, when she shall think proper. She can never consent, that under any pretext, foreign powers shall undertake to give her laws, or dare to entertain the hope of doing so ; but this pride, so natural and so just, is a sure guarantee to all the powers that have not provoked her, not only of her constantly pacific dispositions, but also of the respect which the French will shew at all times to the laws, the usages and all the forms of government of other nations. The King also wishes that they shall know that he will loudly discountenance, and with severity, all those of his agents at foreign courts, at peace with France, who shall dare to deviate for an instant from this sacred respect, *either by fomenting or favouring insurrection against established order, or by interfering, in any manner whatever, in the internal politics of these states, under the pretext of a proselytism, which, exercised among friendly powers, would be a direct violation of the rights of nations.*

“ The King hopes that the British government will find in this exposition the incontestible justice and necessity of the war which the French nation supports against the King of Hungary and Bohemia ; and that they will find also a common principle of liberty and independance, of which his Britannic Majesty will not be less jealous than France, for England also is free, because it is her will to be so, and certainly she has not suffered, and would not suffer other powers to come and force her to change the constitution which she adopted, nor that they should lend the smallest support to her rebel subjects, nor that they should presume to meddle, under any pretext in her internal disputes.

“ Persuaded that his Britannic Majesty does not desire less ardently, than himself, to see consolidated and drawn more tight, the good understanding and union that subsist between the two nations ; the King desires, that conformably to the treaty of navigation and commerce of the 26th of September, 1786, his Britannic Majesty shall prohibit all the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland (and publish the order in the usual way through the two kingdoms, and the islands and countries dependant thereon) from committing any hostility against France, or against French ships at sea ; and that they

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shall

shall not take out any patent, commission, or letters of reprisal, from different princes, or states at war with France, or to make use in any way of such patents, or commissions.

The King desires besides that all the articles of the said treaty, which have reference to the case of one of the contracting powers being at war, and particularly articles 3, 16, 39, 40 and 41, shall be punctually observed and executed, as his Majesty is on his part determined to do in all the stipulations of the said treaty

London, 15 th May.

In consequence of the preceding memoir, the following Proclamation was published by the British ministry.

“BY THE KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

“GEORGE. R

“WHEREAS Hostilities have broken out between the Most Christian King and the King of Hungary; his Majesty, for the preservation and continuance of friendship and amity between him and their said Majesties, doth by this his royal proclamation (with the advice of his privy council) strictly prohibit and forbid all his subjects whatsoever to take any commission at sea from any foreign prince or state, against any other foreign prince or state now in amity with his Majesty, or their subjects, or by virtue or under colour of any such commission already taken or hereafter to be taken, to set or employ any vessel or ship of war, or to serve as mariners in any ship which shall be employed against any prince or state now in amity with his Majesty, or their subjects during the present war. And all his Majesty's subjects are required to take notice of this his royal command, and to conform themselves to the same, upon pain of incurring his Majesty's high displeasure, and of being punished with the utmost severity of law and justice. And whereas the Most Christian King hath caused application to be made to his Majesty, that his Majesty would conformably to the article of the treaty of navigation and commerce, concluded at Versailles 26th of September 1786, renew and publish in all his dominions and countries the strict and express prohibitions contained in the said article; his Majesty doth hereby strictly forbid all his subjects to receive any commission for arming and acting at sea as privateers, or letters of reprisals, from any enemy of the Most Christian King, or, by virtue or under colour of such commissions or reprisals, to disturb, infest, or in any ways damage his subjects; or to arm ships as privateers, or to go out to sea therewith, under the severest punishments, that can be inflicted on the transgressors, besides being liable to make full restitution and satisfaction, to those to whom they have done any damage.

“Given

" Given at our court at St. James's the 25th. day of May, 1792, in the 32d year of our reign.

" GOD save the KING."

At nearly the same time the British ministry issued another Proclamation, of which the following is a copy.

" BY THE KING

" A PROCLAMATION.

" GEORGE, R.

" WHEREAS divers wicked and seditious writings have been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, tending to excite tumult and disorder, by raising groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of our faithful and loving subjects, respecting the laws and happy constitution of government, civil and religious, established in this kingdom; and endeavouring to vilify and bring into contempt the wise and wholesome provisions made at the time of the glorious revolution, and since strengthened and confirmed by subsequent laws, for the preservation and security of the rights and liberties of our faithful and loving subjects: and whereas, divers writings have also been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, recommending the said wicked and seditious publications to the attention of all our faithful and loving subjects: and whereas, we have also reason to believe, that correspondences have been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts, with a view to forward the criminal and wicked purposes above mentioned: and whereas, the wealth, happiness, and prosperity of this kingdom do, under Divine Providence, chiefly depend upon a due submission to the laws, a just confidence in the integrity and wisdom of parliament, and a continuance to that zealous attachment to the government and constitution of the kingdom; which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: and whereas, there is nothing which we so earnestly desire, as to secure the public peace and prosperity, and to preserve to all our loving subjects the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil: We, therefore, being resolved as far as in us lies, to repress the wicked and seditious practices aforesaid, and to deter all persons from following so pernicious an example, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy counsel, to issue this our royal Proclamation, solemnly warning all our loving subjects, as they tender their own happiness, and that of their posterity, to guard against all such attempts, which aim at the subversion of all regular government within this kingdom, and which are inconsistent with the peace and order of society; and earnestly exhorting them at all times, and to the utmost of their power, to
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avoid and discourage all proceedings tending to produce riots and tumults; and we do strictly charge and command all our magistrates in and throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do make diligent enquiry, in order to discover the authors and printers of such wicked and seditious writings as aforesaid; and all others who shall disperse the same: and we do further charge and command all our sheriffs, justices of the peace, chief magistrates in our cities, boroughs, and corporations, and all other our officers and magistrates throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do, in their several and respective stations, take the most immediate and effectual care to suppress and prevent all riots, tumults and other disorders, which may be attempted to be raised or made by any person or persons, which on whatever pretexts they are grounded are not only contrary to law, but dangerous to the most important interests of the kingdom: and we do further require and command all and every one of our magistrates aforesaid, that they do from time to time, transmit to one of our principle secretaries of state, due and full information of such persons as shall be found offending as aforesaid, or in any degree aiding or abetting therein; it being our determination, for the preservation of the peace and happiness of our faithful and loving subjects, to carry the laws vigorously into execution against such offenders as aforesaid."

"Given at our court at the Queen's-house, the 21st day of May, 1792, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

"GOD save the KING."

The preceding Proclamation occasioned the following note from the French ambassador at London:

Official Note presented by M. Chauvelin, the French Minister at the Court of London, to Lord Grenville, on the 24th ult.

"The undersigned minister plenipotentiary from the King of the French to his Britannic Majesty, has the honour to inform Lord Grenville, minister of state for the foreign department—

"That the royal Proclamation published on the 21st of the present month, and communicated to the two houses of parliament, contains some expressions which appear, (no doubt, contrary to the intentions of the British ministry) to give credit to the erroneous opinions which the enemies of France strive to propagate, relative to the intentions of Great Britain.

"If individuals of this kingdom have entered into a foreign correspondence, tending to excite troubles; and if, as the proclamation seems to insinuate, some Frenchmen have joined into their views, this is a circumstance unconnected with the French nation,

nation, the legislative body, the King, and his ministers; it is a fact entirely unknown to them, entirely repugnant to all the principles of justice, and which on being known, will be universally condemned throughout France.

“Independently of those principles of justice, from which a free people ought never to depart; if any one is anxious to reflect candidly on the true interests of the French nation, is it not evident that they must be anxious for the internal peace, and the force and duration of the constitution of a country, which they already look upon as a natural ally?

“Is not this the sole reasonable wish which a people can form, who perceive so many efforts exerted against their liberty?

“The minister plenipotentiary of France, profoundly penetrated with these truths and maxims of universal morality, has already developed them in an official note presented to the British ministry, by the express order of his court, on the 15th of the present month.

“The honour of France, the desire which she entertains to preserve and augment the good intelligence between the two countries, and the necessity of obviating all doubts on this subject, requiring that it should acquire all possible publicity, the undersigned minister plenipotentiary begs Lord Grenville to obtain permission from his Britannic Majesty, to communicate the present official note to the two Houses of Parliament, before they deliberate on the proclamation of the 21st of May. He also seizes this opportunity to renew the testimonies of his high esteem and respect for his excellency.

“CHAUVELIN,

“Minister Plenipotentiary of France.”

On the 31st. the French minister for foreign affairs communicated to the National Assembly of France, the substance of M. Chauvelin's memoir to the King of England; and afterwards read the answer which the English minister had made in the name of his King to M. Chauvelin. The purport of it is, That the King of England, sensible of the good intentions of his Most Christian Majesty, is extremely sorry at the declaration of war between France and the King of Hungary. Humanity, the peace of Europe, and the prosperity of the Belligerent Powers, render his Britannic Majesty interested in it; but without searching into the motives from whence it originated, his Majesty does not hesitate to declare *directly* and *positively*, that he will maintain the treaty of commerce subsisting between England and France. His Majesty, faithful to his engagements, expects a similar conduct on the part of France, and that his rights and those of his allies will be equally respected.

POLAND.

P O L A N D.

[The invasion of Poland by the Empress of Russia, proclaims to the world, the conspiracy which is now forming in the Cabinets of Despots against the felicity of nations. Poland and France are considered as in the same predicament by the despots of the earth, and every *Revolution* which extends the influence of the people, by limiting the domination of princes and nobility, is deprecated by the superior orders. Mr. Burke, indeed, discriminates between the Revolution in France and that in Poland; and while he execrates the one Revolution, he allows the other a certain proportion of applause. But in this concession, his doctrine is as offensive to tyrants as his general doctrine is offensive to the learned, and an insult to a civilized age.—In this country it seems to be the nobility and the superior orders of citizens, who feel any degree of alarm. The venerable fabric of the British Constitution is likely to be maintained with accumulated glory from age to age. But whatever promotes general civilization, and confers importance on the mass of citizens, creates a jealousy in the ranks of life, and threatens the diminution of that importance which is connected with hereditary distinctions, with superior affluence, with Priesthood; with Nobility, or with Royal Blood.—The late Proclamation on which Princes and Nobles bestowed almost unanimous applause, seems not calculated, in any eminent degree, to abate the ferment in the public mind. The public surely cannot be flattered by a Proclamation, which announces danger that can only originate in free discussion, and in the infatuation of the people. The Freedom of the Press is the Palladium of the British Constitution. *Truth* will always ultimately triumph: and from speculative opinions little danger can be apprehended to church or state.]

WARSAW, *April 25.*

THE intelligence received from M. Woyna, our minister at Vienna, and the dispatches which have since been received from our minister at Petersburg have confirmed our fears respecting the negotiations of the Polish malcontents at that court. These dispatches were communicated to the diet by the

the King in an extraordinary session held the 21st instant, when his Majesty announced that Counts Rzewski and Potocki, and other chiefs of the malcontents, were likely to succeed in their endeavours to get Russia to attack our new constitution. The courts of Vienna and Berlin had in vain proposed a negotiation; the Empress had declared she would never depart from the guaranty which she had given to the form of government which had been established in Poland under her auspices. These principles coinciding with those of the malcontents, the chiefs of them receive large sums from the Imperial treasury monthly, and the troops of Russia, it seems, are to enter Poland in a hostile manner. Three Russian Generals, Messrs. Soltikow, Michelson, and Kosakowski, are appointed to enter it at the head of 60,000 men. This army, it is said, is to be followed by a corps of 20,000 men from Kiovia, and which will be supported by the troops now in Moldavia, under the command of General Kochowski, amounting to 70,000. These forces, if the plan is so settled, are certainly sufficient to create great alarm amongst the friends of the constitution and liberty of Poland, especially if the other powers who are interested in her independance permit this war to take place without interfering in it. The King, however, far from being discouraged, exhorted the states to remain firm in the defence of the free constitution, and declared himself ready to put himself at the head of the National Army, in case the republic is obliged to defend itself against a foreign enemy. The assembly immediately caught the ardour of the King, and resolved "to invest the King and the council of inspection with an unlimited authority in every thing respecting the defence of the country; to increase the Polish army to 100,000 men; to dispose of the chief command and that of the different corps which compose it; to direct the march of these forces, and to order quarters, provisioning, magazines, &c. for them." All the civil and military officers and agents employed in the provinces are to furnish whatever provisions the commission of war shall order to be delivered, and execute all the military works which they shall require, the expences of which will be paid by the treasury. The decree, containing these dispositions was immediately drawn up, and publicly proclaimed.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE POLISH DIET.

May 10. A report was made from the committee of treasury desiring the states to declare, "That not only the produce of the sale of the domains, but the present and future revenues should

should be pledged as a security for the loan of thirty millions to be raised by annuities."

After making some proposals for establishing a hierarchy for the *Grec non uni* church in Poland, the question of the military committee was resumed.

Mr. Chojewski, Nuncio of Kijow, rose, and observed, "that as from the number of laws made lately for the public defence, it was evident that some neighbouring power was preparing to declare war against Poland, or sought to put their intrepidity to the proof. It was beyond a doubt, that they would display this intrepidity for the defence of liberty, and the independence of the nation. But they should first examine what power it was that sought to spread this fear amongst them. Austria and Prussia had constantly professed, during the course of the present diet, to have favourable sentiments for them; it was true they had formerly appropriated a part of the territory of the republic to themselves, but satisfied with these attainments, they had pushed their usurpations no further—they had not attempted any thing against their civil liberty, and had not influenced their interior administration—It was not, therefore, Austria or Prussia, but Russia who threatened them, a power who from time immemorial had been the sworn enemy of Poland, and, and who, I say, openly, and without hesitation *has forged fetters for us*, and this I will always maintain, even if I should be the first victim of her resentment when war shall be declared, and that she covers me with her vengeance by spreading ravage and terror over my estates situated on the frontiers. I shall say this, because in this sacred asylum of the defenders of the nation, it is not permitted to consider of private or personal interests—and it would be infamous not to give all possible attention to the public good; and not to shew oneself with openness and intrepidity, the defender of the country." He then proceeded to shew the preponderance Russia has, and the oppression she exercised, particularly in the frontier Palatinates, he said "Russia knew that the Polish nation had ceased to be under her tyranny, and that as she now ranked among *free* nations, we would throw a new weight into the balance of Europe—she knows this, and she is jealous of our welfare—already she is practising the same arts that she employed formerly so successfully to trouble our tranquillity and subvert our liberty. Would to God my fears may not be realised—I tremble lest the emigrant Poles should serve as instruments of her wicked designs; and that by a strange abuse of words, Russia shall say to us in her Manifesto, *that her friendship for Poland will not permit her to see with an indifferent eye, a change in the form of her government, and the raising of despotism on the ruins of liberty; and therefore she (Russia) is coming to succour her neighbour.*

"Would

" Would to God that no person may be found in Poland, who shall unite with the enemy of this country !

" POLES, if there is any one among you, who has resolved to raise the Russians against his fellow citizens—against his countrymen—against his *aborigenes*, and who will examine within himself, with the coolness of reason, the motives which engage him to take such a strange resolution, will he say that a number of laws appear to him defective ? or that they must be altered by force of arms, thereby overthrowing the edifice of the constitution, and beholding the ruins swim in the blood of his brethren ? It belongs incontestably to the nation to give to itself a constitution: If she discovers any inconveniencies, in time she amends, or she changes her principles ; but a foreign power, blind to your interest, is busy only for herself, and at the expence of Poland, of which we have already had, unfortunately, too much experience."

May 14. The Secretary read a plan of a decree, under the title of *Expedition Defensive*.

A motion was then made, to desire his Majesty not to appoint, for some time, any person to any of the Polish orders of distinction.

The King promised not to do so, until the storm which threatened Poland was dissipated ; and terminated his discourse in demanding that the order of the day, *viz.* The plan of the decree be put without delay—when after some amendments, it was adopted in the following terms :

EXPEDITION DE DEFENCE.

" Willing to provide for the public defence conformably to preceding decrees,

" We, the King, in concert with the States assembled, full of confidence in the loyalty of the nation, and the oath in which has been made to maintain the civil constitution and the succession of the throne, at the expence of blood, life, and property, although we have not any reason to apprehend domestic troubles, nevertheless think it our duty to take measures to prevent them ; and as the numerous private troops (they rate them at thirty thousand) cannot be assembled and employed against the country, whilst any enemy attempts an invasion, we decree—

1st. " That all these scederal troops, which have been armed under any pretext before the present decree, shall, from this moment, pass to the army of the Republic, and shall be sent to their respective commandants ; which we, the King, in concert with the States assembled, have appointed to command the regular troops.

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2d. " We

2d. " We charge the executive and defensive power, to give orders to the said commandants, that they do without delay carry the above into execution, by distributing these armed troops, according to the necessity of the case.

3d. " If it happens that any proprietor of these militia refuses to employ them for the defence of the country, and to give them up to the commanding officers, to belong to the soldiery of the republic, in such case, these officers are to take care to disarm these militia, and to take away their arms and accoutrements, paying a just price for the same to their proprietor; and if the commandants cannot agree on the value and price of such arms with the citizens, the ordnance commission shall fix the price.

4th. " If the proprietors will not agree to receive payment, and they prefer to have them re-delivered after a defensive war, in that case, a receipt of responsible acknowledgment shall be given; and if any are lost, they shall be paid for at a stipulated rate.

5th. " No arms used by the citizens themselves, are to be included in the above article.

6th. In towns and other places wanting a guard, the commanding officers are not to quarter more than forty soldiers for the whole of the district, and that under the guarantee in writing of the proprietor.

7th. " The ordnance commission shall fulfil their duties with the greatest exactness.

8th. " In case of any unexpected opposition to the present decree, the commandants are to enforce it. As to obedience, and the execution of the decree, without violating the rights of property, is absolutely necessary for interior safety and the organization of national defence.

9th. " We charge the executive power to make arrangements with the citizens, who have militia composed of men who are obliged to do the duty of militia on the lands they possess, or to pay certain fines to the proprietors, in case they do not fulfil the said duties; that they, the executive power, shall order every year during the course of the public defence, a proper recompence to the said citizens for any diminution they may find in their revenues, by the loss of these militia; and that they order these militia to be employed in the army of defence, and incorporated with the regular troops, and to submit to the same discipline. If it happens, that any proprietor of these militia refuses to let them be employed in defence of the public, he shall be forced to give up, without delay, all their arms and accoutrements, without exception, at a just price, and

and he shall be obliged to give the commandants a writing, that these militia shall not ever serve either against the country, or against the government.

10th. "Not doubting but the promulgation of the present decree, will excite the emulation of a generous people to concur in the public defence; and desiring that the means taken to effect it, be well ordered, sure, compatible with interior tranquillity, and for that reason efficacious, we enjoin the ordinal commissions to recommend to the curates, sending the present into all the parishes to be read from the pulpits, and at the same time to exhort their parishioners to the public defence; to inform them, that their country stands in need of their voluntary offerings, and the manner of making and receiving such as please to present any contribution. We hope, in all the extent of the territory of the republic, not to find any single citizen so insensible, as not to contribute all in his power to maintain the independence of the nation, when the country is in danger, and when these sacred offerings are truly useful to the public; and we, the King, in concert with the states assembled, will determine the time and order, according to which they may be made.

11th. "Whoever will equip themselves, and serve at their own expence in this national war of defence, and shall subscribe their names within a month from the day of publishing this, engaging to appear in person, or with any others, (without demanding any thing from government) fifteen days after the convocation of the *ordinals* commission, consenting to submit to the discipline, and to perform the duties of a regular soldier during the war, or for a limited time:—the commission will not receive any subscriber to serve less than one campaign. The citizens who engage, or who furnish men at their own expence, shall be registered in the first rolls of *volunteers, armed equipped, and mounted at their own expence*, and shall be furnished with such ammunition and forage as they want, on specifying the number of men they have engaged to raise.

12th. "The committee will enter in the second rolls all those who engage to furnish the soldiery of the republic with arms, horse, and accoutrements complete, or to give recruits wholly equipped to serve on the same conditions, and subject to the regulations above established, respecting the time and duration of service.

13th. "Whoever procures uniforms without arms, horses, and equipments, and engages to place men as before, shall be registered in the third rolls.

14th. "Whoever furnishes *recruits* all cloathed and armed as aforesaid, shall be registered in the fourth roll of volunteers.

15th. "Whoever cannot serve personally, or furnish volunteers, and desires to join in the public expence according to his abilities, may send to either of the *ordinale* commission, as he thinks proper, such patriotic gift as he can actually offer at the moment, or enter into an obligation to give, within fifteen days after it is required, either money, guns, sabres, pistols, powder, lead, forage, ammunition, or stores, proper for a defensive war, or, in a word, what each chuses to give for the public defence. All these will be registered in the fifth roll."

16th. "The *ordinale* commission, five weeks after publishing of the *universal* joined to this decree, are to send to the war commission of the two nations the five rolls aforesaid, which are to be inserted in the code of laws, to serve as a testimony of the country's acknowledgment towards the good citizens."

17th. "The war commission will digest a general state of all these offerings, and remit it to us, the King, in the council of inspection, to whom the direction of the public defence is entrusted."

18th. "The King, according to circumstances, having regard to the proximity of place, and to necessity, will authorize the commandants of the army to dispose of these civic succours, it being well understood, they are to give the most scrupulous account of their trust."

19th. "Whenever any commandant addresses the *ordinale* commissions, demanding in writing volunteers or offerings made in favour of the public defence, these commissions shall assemble, within fifteen days, all the volunteers which have been registered, and collect the patriotic offerings, and they shall tender an oath to those who are disposed to march as follows: "That he presents himself to serve as a volunteer, and that he will obey and be faithful to the King, the republic, the civil constitution, and to the officers in the regiment he is incorporated with; that he will serve in the war in the public defence for the time he has engaged; that he will entirely submit to the military discipline; that he will obey his officers in marching to any part he is ordered, and not commit any species of violence against his fellow citizens."

20th. "The *ordinale* commission, after having received this oath, shall deliver the volunteers and patriotic offerings, on receipts, to the officer sent with an escort from the commandant. The volunteer shall observe the greatest subordination towards the officer to whom he is entrusted during the march; and when he arrives at the place of destination, he shall take the oath a second time under the colours; by which oath he shall oblige himself to serve during the time of engagement; and after finishing the engagement, he shall be re-conducted equally under a military escort to the *ordinale* commission who has delivered him first."

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DECREE OF THE POLISH DIET,

PUBLISHED MAY II.

“As the true basis of a permanent government consists in the common care of all the citizens, directed towards the general welfare, the damage and loss occasioned in consequence of that care ought equally to be defrayed by all; so that the general happiness of the country shall form the interest of each citizen, and the welfare of each citizen the interest of the whole community. Wishing thus, by the general tie of patriotic zeal, for the common and mutual defence of the country, to unite all the inhabitants of the Polish state; we, the King, with the consent of the states of the diet, give the most solemn guarantee, that in case of an invasion of our frontiers by foreign troops, the devastation and diminution of the revenue, of the property of each individual, the dispersion of the farmers who are possessed of effects, and the loss occasioned by the hostile burning of cities and of villages, wherever they are situated, shall be indemnified by a fraternal contribution of the whole nation. For this end, after the cessation of the war, there shall be appointed and named, in the first diet which shall be held, an extraordinary commission for a just examination and estimate for the damage sustained. But testifying this regard for good citizens, we wish likewise to mark, in the strongest manner, the difference which exists between them, and the degenerate sons of their country, and therefore, for the present, determine, that in the case of an approaching war, every native of Poland who shall be convicted of a public crime according to the articles of the law of comital judgments, or of an offence against the law, entitled, *Declaration with respect to Manifestos*, shall not only be punished in his person according to the sentence of the law, but shall have his property confiscated to the public treasury, and there it shall be preserved till the death of the criminal, to form a compensation for the damage above enumerated,

DECLARATION

OF M. BULGAKOW, RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR AT WARSAW,
DELIVERED TO THE DIET ON THE 18th MAY.

“The liberty and independence of the illustrious republic of Poland, have at all times attracted the attention and concern of all her neighbours.

“Her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, who, together with this claim, still unites the right of her formal and positive engagements with the republic, has endeavoured in a more peculiar manner to watch over the inviolable preservation of these two precious attributes of her political existence.

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“ These continual and generous endeavours of her Majesty, being the effects of her love for justice and order, as well as her affection and good wishes towards a nation, whom the identity of origin, language, and so many other natural relations with the nation she reigns over, rendered dear to her, did doubtless repress the ambition and avidity of those rulers who, not satisfied with the share of authority assigned to them by the laws of the state, aspired at a greater extent of power at the expence of these very laws.

“ With this intent they have, on one hand, neglected nothing to weary out the active vigilance of the Empress over the integrity of the rights and prerogatives of the illustrious Polish nation; and, on the other hand, to defame the purity and munificence of her intentions, and placing them on every occasion in the most odious point of view.

“ In this manner they have had the perfidious dexterity to cause to be declared, as a cumbersome and humiliating yoke, the act by which Russia guarantees the lawful constitution of this nation; whereas the greatest realms, and among the rest the German empire, far from rejecting such like guarantees, have considered, sought, and accepted them as the most stable foundation of their property and independence.

“ Events of a recent nature shew better, than all proofs, how indispensable and efficacious such a guarantee might be; and that the republic without them, after having been involved by the practices of her internal enemies, to recover her constitution could have no other claim on the intervention of the Empress, than solely her friendship and generosity.

“ Meanwhile, those who very long since meditated the degradation and ruin of the ancient liberty of the republic, grew bolder and bolder, when part of the nation proposed all sorts of perverse and erroneous notions, and only waited for a favourable moment to execute their ruinous designs. They thought they would find it in the two ways by which Russia was attacked at once. About this time the diet assembled at Warsaw. The instructions which the legates had received from their Woywodships, fixed the same as a **FREE AND ORDINARY DIET**. All at once it was transformed into a **CONFEDERATE DIET**, without any known good reasons. The act of confederation which was made public, announced the transactions of the same. Its chief objects were to be—*the maintenance of the free republican government—the maintenance of the magistrates in their functions and actual limits—and the preservation of the property of citizens.*

“ It belongs to the people of the Polish nation themselves to judge from the consequences and result of the transactions of this diet, how far it has abused public confidence, by departing from

from the original objects of its meeting, and adopting others which were entirely opposite to them. Without entering upon an enumeration of all the illegalities and violations of the laws and immunities of the republic, which this confederate diet, or rather the *faction prevailing in it*, presume to execute, it will suffice to say, that after having usurped, mingled, and concentrated in itself all branches of power, whose union in the hand of one individual is utterly inconsistent with republican principles, has moreover usurped in a most tyrannical manner, each branch of this power; it has prolonged its duration for above three years and an half, (a duration of which the Polish annals do not offer a single instance) and finally crowned all its ruinous enterprizes by totally subverting, on the 3d of May 1791, the edifice of government, under which the republic was happy for so many years.

“ On this day this edifice vanished, and on its ruins arose a monarchy, which in its new laws, by which it was thought to limit it, offers nothing but contradictions, incoherency with the old laws, an entire insufficiency in every respect, which leaves not even to the Poles the shade of that liberty and those prerogatives of which they were always so jealous.

“ The elective throne is rendered an hereditary one, and this law, which the wisdom of their ancestors had dictated, and which forbids to meddle during the life-time of the King, with the election of his successor, was transgressed in as rash a manner, as were all those that did guarantee the perpetual consistency of the republic.

“ The means made use of for executing these violent actions, were well enough calculated to characterise them. On the day of the Revolution, the palace and the diet-hall were crowded with the Warsaw mob. Armed persons were introduced—cannons were brought from the arsenal, in order to fire on such as might endeavour to prevent the success of the plot. The regiment of artillery and the Lithuanian guards were assembled for supporting the mob. Their fury was excited against those whose resistance was dreaded. Several legates who persevered in their patriotic sentiments were threatened with death. When the legate of Kalitsch humbly approached the throne to remind the King of his sacred oath, concerning *pacta conventa*, this sacred and indissoluble tie which connects him with the nation, he was trod under foot in an unmerciful manner, in spite of his inviolable character as a representative of this nation, to the shame and disgrace of every Pole who has not lost all sense of honour and liberty. A revolution effectuated in this manner, was deemed by its promoters to have been the free wish of the nation.

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“ Not satisfied with the internal misfortunes they brought upon their unhappy mother country, they also endeavoured by all possible methods to hurt her abroad, by having plunged her into discords, which are likely to degenerate into an open war with Russia, the old ally, the best, and most solid friend of the republic and the Polish nation.

“ It required the whole extent of the known generosity of the Empress, and especially that justice and penetration, by which she knows how to discern the intentions of the spirit of party from the general wish of the nation, to prevent her from sooner resenting the extreme abuses by which she has been continually provoked.

“ A brief enumeration of the string of facts belonging to this matter, will set the truth of this assertion in a proper light.

“ At the time of the declaration of the war, to which Russia was necessitated by the Ottoman Porte, the ambassador of the Empress delivered to the ministry of the republic, which had then no diet, a note, apprising them of the instantaneous marching of the Russian troops through the Polish states, and proposing to appoint commissioners in the Palatinates that were nearest to the quarters of these troops, in order to agree with them concerning the furnishing and payment of the requisite forage.

“ All this was regulated and amicably agreed upon with mutual satisfaction, though at that very period animosity and rancour seemed already to manifest themselves. But as soon as the diet was formed, and the long harboured plan of subverting the republic, had got the better of all considerations, with respect to the preservation of peace within and without the kingdom, it was not only required immediately to withdraw the Russian troops from the Polish territory, without even excepting the small number of those that were to guard the magazines, but also the furnishing them with provisions was rendered difficult by means of several impediments: the establishing of new magazines for their support, and it was required, that even the old magazines should be removed beyond the frontiers of the republic. On the same occasion, the treasury board made the unjust proposal, that on crossing the river Dniester, duties of exports should be collected for these magazines, which were procured at a considerable expence, and greatly to the disadvantage of the Polish citizens.

“ Such a proceeding was, in fact, contrary to the reciprocal equity which two neighbouring, friendly, and allied states owe one another.

“ The oppressions of all kinds practised upon the subjects of her Majesty the Empress, were carried to such a height, that
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some of them, whose business retained them on the territory of the republic, and who, fully relying on the sanctity and inviolability of existing treaties, and the law of nations, though carrying their trade on in the quietest manner, were, notwithstanding, most maliciously impeached, for having excited the inhabitants of the places to insurrection, and were arrested and thrown into prisons. When the judges who were commissioned to try these people, found no traces of the crime they stood impeached for, they had recourse to the torture, to extort a confession, and after having in this manner forced it out, these hard-hearted judges condemned them to die, and absolutely had the sentence carried into execution. The first essay of inhumanity, injustice and cruelty, opened a vast field for inquisitions of all kinds, by which the provinces were chiefly oppressed, whose inhabitants confess the orthodox Greek religion. The Bishop of Pazejasslaw and Abbot of Sluck, *though an Imperial subject*, fell a victim to this persecution. Notwithstanding his high ecclesiastic dignity, purity of manners, and austerity of principles, he was accused of crimes, which malice, and the eagerness of encreasing the once effectuated fermentation, invented upon every occasion—the prelate was arrested and conducted to Warsaw, where he was doomed to lasting imprisonment.—Even in the centre of the metropolis, and towards the Empress's ministers, the law of nations was as little respected; for their chapel, which is considered as a part of the hotel occupied by them, and the Russian arms being suspended, clearly proves to every body that it is a privileged place) was forced by Polish soldiers, who seized upon a minister of the altar, and carried him before an incompetent tribunal. The satisfaction which the minister has demanded on this subject, has been refused upon vague and insignificant pretences. In short, not only the solemn treaties which connected Russia and Poland were violated and transgressed in the most important articles, but the animosity has been carried so far as to send an extraordinary deputation to Turkey, then in open war with Russia, offering to this power an offensive treaty aimed against Russia. A fact of which, the archives of the ministerial correspondence of the cabinet of Warsaw contain the documents and clearest proofs.

“ The respects due to the person and the exalted rank of the Empress, was not observed in the speeches held in public sessions in the diet, and this rudeness, instead of being reprimanded, as it deserved, was even encouraged and applauded by the chiefs of the party that subverted the laws of the constitution of the republic.”

“ The least of these grievances, without mentioning those which are voluntarily suppressed for the sake of brevity, would already justify, in the face of God and men, the resolution of her Majesty to take signal vengeance. Yet it is not with this view that her Majesty publishes this declaration of the said grievances. Her innate equity does not suffer her to confound all the Polish nation with one of the parties which has betrayed her Majesty’s confidence. The Empress, on the contrary, is fully convinced, that the greatest number had no share in any of the things attempted against herself and the republic.

“ For this very reason she is willing to sacrifice her just resentment, to a hope more compatible with her generous and pacific sentiments, of seeing all those grievances remedied by means of a new diet, which shall more strictly adhere to the orders of their superiors, and the immutable fundamental laws of the state, than the present existing diet which has trespassed upon them all in the most manifest manner, and marked all their transactions, in opposition to those laws, with the stamp of their own illegality.

“ But should her Majesty refuse to listen to the voice of her own resentment, she cannot be deaf to the voice of claims made to her by a great number of Poles, among whom are several who are as illustrious by birth and rank in the republic as they are by their patriotic virtues and ability for serving the state.

“ Animated by a pure and praise-worthy zeal for the welfare of their country, and the recovery of its former liberty and independence, they have united, themselves for the purpose of forming a *lawful confederation*, as the only effectual remedy for the misfortunes which the *illegal confederation* and usurpation at Warsaw has caused to the nation.

“ With these sentiments they have claimed the support and assistance of the Empress, who did not hesitate to assure them of both, being guided on her part by her friendly and amicable dispositions in favour of the republic, and her desire of strictly fulfilling the obligations of her treaties.

“ In order to fulfil her promise, the Empress has ordered part of her troops to *enter the territory of the Republic*. They shew themselves there as friends, and *co-operating in the re-establishment of the rights and prerogatives of the Republic*. All such as shall receive them under this title, will, besides a perfect oblivion of what is past, receive every protection and security for their persons and property. Her Majesty hopes, that all good Poles, who truly love their native country, will know how to value the intentions of her Imperial Majesty, and perceive that it is for their own benefit, that they should co-operate

co-operate, with all their heart and soul, in the generous endeavours which her Majesty is to employ in conjunction with all true patriots, for restoring to the republic liberty and laws, of which it has been deprived by the pretending constitution of the 3d. of May. If there should be any who harbour any scruple concerning the oath which they have been led to take from error, or which they were compelled to by force and seduction, such may consider, that is the only true and sacred oath, by which they engaged to maintain and defend the free and republican government under which they were born; and that the renewal of this former oath is the only means of repairing the perjury of which they have been guilty in taking the new oath. Yet if there are any found, who persevering in a perverse way of thinking, should oppose the benovolent intentions of the Empress, and the patriotic wishes of their fellow citizens, they may thank themselves if they meet with the treatment they deserve; the more so, as they had it in their power to secure themselves by a sincere abjuration of their errors.

“ The extraordinary ambassador and minister plenipotentiary has orders to notify these resolutions of her Majesty the Empress, and also to publish her just motives; he is, moreover to invite the illustrious Polish nation to place an unlimited confidence in the generosity and disinterestedness which induces her to take this step, and which makes her most ardently desire that the republic, by means of a prudent balance of the different powers, which forms the safest means of securing both her internal tranquility, and her good understanding with her neighbours, should recover the solid basis of its welfare.

Given at Warsaw, May 7-18, 1792.

(Signed)

D. VON BULGAKOW.

WARSAW, MAY 20.

At last the great blow, which has been so long expected, is struck: Russia seeing a war kindled between Austria and France, and Prussia bound to fulfil its offensive engagements with the former of these powers, no longer thinks fit to dissemble. The Empress openly wishes to subvert the new constitution, and substitute another. By her declaration she has declared war. On the other hand, the republic, assured that all Europe will do them the justice to have neither deserved nor provoked it, trust that their love of their country, and their ardour to maintain their lawful independence, will more than counterbalance their deficiency of force. Among other resolutions, tending to augment, consolidate, and invigorate the means of defence, the diet on the 11th has published a decree of com-

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penfation to thofe that fhall fustain loffes in confequence of the war.

PROCEEDINGS of the POLISH DIET, MAY 21.

The declaration of the Emprefs of Ruffia, delivered by her ambaffador on the 18th. was this day read in full diet

SPEECH of the KING of POLAND, this day, IN THE DIET

“ It is my duty to inform the illuftrious ftates, of the declaration, which was delivered by Mr. Bulgakow on the 18th inftant, late in the evening, to the Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania.

The Declaration being read, his Majefty continued:

“ Thus you fee by this declaration, that not only your aft of the 3d of May, but all thofe previous to it are treated with contempt.

“ You fee the attempt to annihilate the authority, and the very exiftence of this diet, and to overturn our independence.

“ You fee the open protection given to our few countrymen, who rife up againft the general will and the welfare of their country.

“ You fee, at laft, moft fevere threats announced againft the whole nation, true to their oath and to themfelves, which evinces the aggressive ftap on the part of Ruffia.

“ Hence, you muft fee alfo the moft preffing neceffity of providing all means for the effectual defence and falvation of our country.

“ Thefe means are twofold: *the firft*, confifts in whatever courage and refolution may infpire, and whatever in this refpect you may determine upon I fhall not only, approve, but declare, that I will go and expofe myfelf, wherever and whenever my prefence may be thought ufeul, either to fhare the dangers with you, or to direct our forces. *The fecond*, ought to be fought, and may be found in negotiation

“ In the firft place, we fhould apply to our ally the king of Pruffia.— You will recollect, that from the beginning almoft of the prefent diet, our moft important deliberations and decifions were made with the advice and counfel of this Monarch; efpecially in liberating ourfelves from the guarantee of Ruffia; in our miffion of embaffy to the Ottoman Porte; in removing Ruffian troops and magazines from our territories; and in forming, at the exprefs wifh of this generous neighbour, a government, on whofe bafis he could build an alliance with us; whereby he folemnly engaged himfelf, to ufe firft his good offices, and in cafe of their failing, to affift us effectually with fufficient forces, to maintain our *independence* and *poffeffions*. Both thefe objects are effentially attacked by the declaration before you, which

treats

treats as crimes and transgressions those very acts which passed in perfect understanding with, and unanimous concurrence of the King of Prussia.

“ It is my opinion also, that we ought to address the King of Hungary, as one of our neighbours, to whom it cannot be indifferent to see Poland either invaded and subdued by, or dependent on a potentate, from whom his possession were hitherto divided by a large tract of Polish territories.

“ And it appears to me the more just and natural to claim the friendship of the Elector of Saxony, as we have given so many unequivocal proofs of our attachment to him, that the very sense of return will prompt him to seek for means of averting those evils with which we are threatened.

“ Should other means be found to open the prospect of negotiating, in preference to recurring to arms, none should be rejected, none neglected.

“ It is hardly credible, that such a wise and magnanimous Princess as Catharine II. would resist so many respectable remonstrances, tending to prevent all those calamities which a war brings with it, and whose effects, direful to humanity are, certainly in opposition to her feeling heart, particularly when it shall be proved to her, that she was misled by false representation of facts, made by a few of our citizens, it being known to all Europe, that none of the pretended violences accompanied our act of the 3d. of May, and that neither our republican government, nor our liberty have suffered in the least thereby.

“ It is, I say, hardly credible, that the Empress, being rightly informed of all this, should persist in her ill-grounded pretensions, when truth and justice shall speak to her; but it will be allways a painful reflection to us, that such worthy motives were perverted by our own countrymen.

“ I am conscious of having sufficiently shewn in the course of my life, and of my reign, my aversion to severity: judge then of my feelings, when I consider, what cruel calamities these citizens, by misrepresenting facts, in order to serve their private purposes, in opposition to the general will of the nation, with the help of a foreign power, endeavour to entail on their mother country, and their brethern!

“ We are told by the same declaration, that this unnatural act is already consummated by these degenerate citizens.— They will, no doubt, try to seduce others, and to get abettors of their malice—It behoves us to prevent it by every possible means.

“ Here I think proper to advise the illustrious states, what the honour of our nation and the dignity of our cause require; that our actions and exertions for the just defence of our country
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ought to be as full of zeal and energy, as our speeches and writings ought to be void of every immoderate expression, which might betray the want of temper and an appearance of passion, unbecoming the consciousness of right.

" But, since the pressure of circumstances commands our utmost care to direct and hasten every resource towards our defence, without which no negotiations can be expected to succeed; you will easily perceive, that loss of time, dangerous on all occasions, but more especially at the present moment, would be most detrimental.

" I therefore wish, as well as hope, that you will take into your most serious consideration, such matters as demand most speedy decision.

" Among those, I consider the final decree for the establishment of the army, equalization of taxes, which will abundantly increase our revenues, and the adjustment of regulations concerning our Greek non-united subjects, by which we shall obtain as great an accession of internal strength, as we shall guard against foreign influence.

" I think also, that in the number of immediate means for increasing our forces, we should not forget the body of troops kept in readiness by the Duke of Courland, and at the same time, you will easily bring to issue all disputes of that duchy.

" It being well known that many of our countrymen have formerly entered into the Russian service, I suppose it will meet with your approbation, to recal them by a proclamation, that they may not bear arms against their own country.

" I leave to you to determine the propriety of recalling Mr. Deboli, our minister at the Court of Petersburg; but, at the same time, it is most consonant to the principles of our constitution to protect the Russian minister at ours from every insult and act of personal resentment.

" The foregoing objects being of the greatest importance, that ever engaged deliberations in our days, I should be sorry to see any thing said, or determined, at this moment of general ardour which might be constructed as the effect of surprise and want of due consideration.

" I therefore recommend to you, what has so often been attended with the best success, to meet this afternoon in a general committee, at the house of the marshal of the diet, where so many beneficial acts of patriotism were planned and arranged; that you may there in confidence communicate your opinions, and determine whatever you think proper to accept of, or reject; to change, or amend of my opinions, now imparted to you. And when you bring your resolutions
to-morrow

to-morrow before me, I repeat again, that, regardless of all personal risk and danger, I am ready to share with you, my beloved nation, every event, which may be allotted to us by the supreme disposer: It is in him, and the goodness of our cause, that our greatest trust and hope of assistance, are reposed. Hence I address to you, reverend bishops, my earnest request, to order in your respective dioceses, public and constant prayers, of which some of you have already set the example, imploring his mercy on our country.

“ Having said so much, illustrious states, it remains for me to wait till to-morrow for your further resolution ”

The diet addressed their thanks to the King for his paternal discourse on the reading of the Russian declaration—After which Mr. Soltyk rose and said, “ That to conform himself to the council of the King, he abstained from expressing the sensation felt on hearing the declaration. He knew there were but three things that could keep Poland in its present integrity; the succours of the Almighty; confidence in the King; and a coalition of the citizens—*Let us speak little and do much.* Being a member of the committee appointed to digest the military ordinance, I can announce to you that to-morrow we shall make our report.” He afterwards urged the establishment of a hierarchy for the dissenting Greeks, and demanded that the chamber should adopt the plan of the delegates of the dissenters, and the committee which they had proposed for this object.

Mr. Kochanowski, Nuncio of Sandomir, supported this motion very strongly. The Bishop of Chelm opposed it, but on its being put to the vote by the mareschal of the diet, it was agreed to by a plurality of 123 against 13.

Prince Czartoryski proposed the plan of a decree, stipulating that all the effects of the clergy, without exception, should be kept under the protection of government, and that no pious foundation should be applied to any other object than its original destination.

Mr. Zakfzewski demanded to add another article, guarding from all oppression and want the poor ecclesiastics, who laboriously cultivated the vine of the Lord. The consideration of it was adjourned till the next day.

May 22. The diet decreed that the command in chief of the armies of the republic should belong to his Majesty.

WARSAW, *May 31.*

The diet was yesterday prorogued, after having committed the conduct of the war entirely to the King. In consequence, his Majesty will immediately set out for the army, which is at present encamped in several divisions on the frontiers.

ADDRESS

ADDRESS OF THE KING TO THE ARMY.

“ By virtue of the constitution, enacted 22d March, 1792, the supreme and general command of all the forces of the republic is entrusted to us in the following terms (*here the act of legislature is recited*): thus the defence of our dear country is confided to us and to you. The enemy that invades it is well known to every Polander. So many injuries, misfortunes, and humiliations heaped on us by Russia, call to God and your courage for vengeance. The war is no sooner declared than begun, without the least justifiable motive. Some degenerate Poles; rebels to their country, have lent a pretext for it. They wish, with foreign aid, to restore the ancient anarchy, subjection, and insignificance, which your King, at the head of a virtuous diet, has luckily banished from the Polish territories. Brave countrymen! we are now called upon to maintain our possessions, our honour, and our liberties—to defend our brethren, to revenge so many wrongs which we and our forefathers have suffered, and to protect the honour of your King, who consecrates, with pleasure and sincerity, the remnant of his old age to his country. The nation longed to have a respectable army, but anarchy and foreign influence always opposed it—at last, by cheerful offers, it is raised to have in you its defenders, the improvement of whose condition was not forgotten by the present government. It was proper to add regularity and discipline common and necessary in all armies, to the courage of Poles, which, though they may seem new to you, are not the less requisite for the strength, honour, and glory of the army. To execute those regulations shall be the duty of your commander, and to obey them ought to be your ambition—we all must obey the laws, and those who execute them.—The army we have opposed to us, owes its strength to a blind obedience and submission to orders. Endeavour to surpass it even in this, and then neither its numbers, nor its bravery, will be able to intimidate the Poles. It is true Russian troops have been accustomed to despise the Polish soldiers, but you have now an open field to deserve a more honourable opinion in future. Your country, for whose independence we are going to fight—your King, whose steps are directed by justice, shall value and reward your merit and valour—you may be sure of being amply repaid for the hazard of your lives, by the gratitude of your countrymen, by the acquisition of glory, and by the hands of your King.

“ Therefore, as your King and your commander, we recommend to you most earnestly to unite good conduct to obedience—fortitude to courage—and love of your country to loyalty.

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" We recommend to the commanding officers vigilance and attention, exemplary temperance and courage, vigour and justice on every occasion.

" The army of a free nation, thus qualified with a good cause on their side, cannot fail to find their support in the powerful arm of the Omnipotent. You serve for honour—let it be your guide ; the honour of a Polish soldier is of the highest importance, because it is a pledge of his allegiance to his country, to which he owes all.

" Do not suffer a traitor among you, (should any unfortunately be found) and the safety of your country will be your own work. In every danger remember and think of your dear country—our life is the least thing that we can offer her. Your common father, your king, and your commander, gives you for ever this word of command—*Children ! Let us either live free and respected, or die with honour.*

Given at Warsaw, May 25th, the twenty-eighth year of our reign.

(Signed)

"STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS, REX."

Circular Letter of the King, and the assembled States of Poland, addressed to the Nation.

The Declaration of the Empress of Russia, delivered by her minister at Warsaw, and communicated to the Provinces, is known at this moment in every part of the territories of the republic. Every Polish citizen will learn from it, the situation of our country, since its publication. In this declaration, the sovereignty and dignity of the republic are treated with contempt. A diet, to which the nation has delegated all its powers, a diet connected with the whole nation, by a confirmation of the confederacy, in all the dietines, and by the election of double representatives, a diet the most important and interesting in all its proceedings and regulations, and distinguished in the last dietines by an union and obedience to laws, hitherto unknown, that diet by an insupportable insult, is called a prevailing party, and declared illegal. A new meeting of a diet is announced, the support of foreign troops, promised to unlawful leagues ; repentance and retracting the rejection of the guarantee, held forth to the states and to all citizens firm in their duty, as the only means of avoiding hostilities. The inhabitants by circulating this publication, excited to broils and disturbances, to an insurrection against lawful authority, to the horrors of a civil war, false assertions alledged, to magnify the pretended injuries, in defiance of all public faith, the invasion of Russian armies, with a denounced and already effected threat, of prosecuting in their lives and fortunes, all those who will not join them against their own country.

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“ There is no instance in the annals of mankind, of one nation of one government, using such contemptuous language to another. The abovementioned declaration breaks and violates all the laws of nations, addressing Poland not like a sovereign state, but as if issuing arbitrary orders to a conquered province.

“ Whatever sensation this writing has occasioned to us, to the assembled, states and to the whole community, you Polish citizens, undoubtedly share it all. A few unworthy Polanders (painful reflection) hostile to their country, provoked against the diet, for not having in its endeavours to raise the republic, conformed to their private views, went to Petersburg, inculpated the diet and the nation, and having applied themselves to destroy that work erected with so much labour and expence, which constitutes the freedom and independency of the republic, which restores the ancient splendour of the Polish name, and recovers the rank and dignity of our nation in Europe, they have obtained the abovementioned declaration, and have introduced a foreign army into the country. Their impious efforts, coincided but too well, with the interest of Russia. It was far from agreeable to the Russian government, to see Poland shake off the odious guarantee, to find her sensible of her antient anarchy (which reducing her to the lowest degradation, would have brought her to unavoidable destruction) establish a firm and lasting government, raise sufficient forces to defend her liberty and independency, provide an income equal to the public expenditure; in a word, become a nation well regulated at home, and respected by her neighbours. The conspiracy of those degenerate sons of their country, whom Russia calls a legal confederacy, happened conveniently to her views; and drawing from it a specious pretext, she enters forcibly our territories, and supports the conspiracy of those detested citizens, who (according to the tenor of the declaration) have solicited the assistance of the Empress, and now jointly with her armies, do not shudder to attack the lives and fortunes of their brethren.

“ We acquaint you, therefore, respectable citizens, in our names and that of the assembled confederate states, that the present state of Poland, is that of self-defence against the Russian power; that Russia has declared war against Poland, but at the same time let us inform you, that confident of the courage and spirit of the nation, the more efforts our enemies make to destroy our government and country, the more vigorous will our measures be to repel this foreign invasion.

“ Worthy citizens, the fate of your dear country is now at stake! such as you shall preserve it by your courage and virtue, will it pass to your remotest posterity. You are going
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to fight in defence of your country, your privileges, your freedom and your fortunes, in defence of your parents, wives and children, in short, of all that is most dear to man.

“ We have an army raised by your zeal and assistance, supplied with every requisite, which will be your protection. There is an heroic spirit and courage, which promises to support it. Such a noble ardour in defence of the country and national liberties, as is only to be found in free nations, inspires us with the most flattering hopes. We receive from all parts news the most consoling to our paternal feelings, with what eagerness, citizens of all conditions, at the call of their country, enlist and join the national army.

“ The love of our country pervades all individuals, and excites their generosity in the public support. There is no class of citizens, who inflamed with a patriotic zeal, do not contribute, according to their capacity. We have a certain confidence, that the same gracious power who has inspired the whole nation with such a noble ardour, considering the justice of our cause, and the purity of our intentions, will not refuse us his irresistible aid.

“ But above all, respectable citizens, seek for the safety of your country in union and firmness. We have sufficient strength to oppose our enemy, but nothing can save us from the effects of division and discord. A foreign war is never so dreadful to a nation as the internal disunion of the citizens. Has any power been able to effect any thing against Poland, while all the citizens, joining their King, have boldly stood forward in defence of their national laws, immunities and territory? You will soon hear, dear citizens, the voice of falsehood and deceit; you will receive writings full of treachery and fraud. Those whose blindness and obstinacy have carried them so far as to make them insensible to the horror of raising their arms against their own country, and of bringing foreign soldiers against her, will calumniate the present government, will create distrust against us and the virtuous diet, will try to divide and separate you, knowing that they cannot resist your united strength and endeavours. Arm yourselves with fortitude and virtue, and give proof of such unanimity, such concord, in the defence of your country, in resisting perfidy and deceit, as you have demonstrated in accepting, in voluntarily swearing to maintain this happy constitution; and lately on the same occasion in the expression of your patriotic sentiments, so dear to our paternal feelings. They who have brought a foreign army against your country, deserve your vengeance, and not your confidence. That army which comes for the purpose of destroying your government, prepares only the return of your
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former slavery instead of liberty. You have already experienced at how dear a rate Russian protection is obtained. Violently carrying off from our residence, and during the diet, senators, ministers, and nuncios; the contemptuous treatment of our nobility, the violation of property, the oppression of towns, the seizure and forcible transportation of peasants and their families; and finally, the dismembering of the republic—these are the effects of the guarantee imposed upon us by Russia. And can you expect any thing better at present from this power? As soon as Russia has seduced you, she will renew the ancient wounds of your country, she will renew all our misfortunes. The nobility and citizens will only feel the heavier the pressure of a newly enforced yoke, for having dared to become free and independent; the poor villagers, our labourers, and husbandmen, whom the law (benefiting all the Polish inhabitants) has received under its protection, will be driven in numbers from their fertile fields into desert wastes; and lastly, the partition of the republic, and the final extinction of the Polish name, will be the fatal consequence of the disunion of Poles.

“Citizens and dear countrymen, this is the advice and warning you receive from your King and father, and from the confederate states of the republic. But your virtue, the love of freedom, so natural to every Pole, assures us that fraternal concord will unite you in the defence of your country; that inspired with the same spirit which guides your King and father, you will assemble round him, and will make a rampart impenetrable to all the attempts of the enemy.

“In the present convulsive state of the Republic, you plainly perceive, that it is improper either to put an end to the diet, or to dissolve the confederation, without endangering the sovereignty and freedom of the nation. There remained, indeed, but little to accomplish; but in the moment when action is required, when we go in person to head a nation entrusted to our care, peaceful deliberations must be suspended. From this motive we, with the assembled confederate states of the republic, find ourselves obliged to terminate the present sittings, and to prorogue the diet and confederacy to a more distant period.

“The writing presented by the Russian minister, under the name of a declaration, does not acknowledge the present diet, it treats it with contempt, though distinguished by a double representation and the universal will and consent of the nation, consequently it insults the will of the whole nation, who has not only delegated its power to this diet, but by a voluntary oath, and a universal expression of thanks, has given the most solemn sanction to its proceedings. The dignity then of the
supreme

supreme national authority demands the continuation of this diet. The invasion of foreign troops cannot be reconciled with the freedom of dietines. The remembrance is but too recent of those unfortunate diets, when the election of nuncios was carried on under the influence of foreign arms. The nation still deplores their fatal consequences, and speaks of them only with horror. To guard the republic against similar violences, it is necessary that the supreme authority should exist in this diet, which was freely assembled, and whose salutary works received a general approbation at the last dietines (acting with equal freedom) throughout the country. Besides, the negociations with his Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony, are not yet brought to a conclusion. The final arrangement cannot be determined, but by the supreme power of the diet. The moment will at last arrive, when Heaven, merciful to our prayers, will restore us peace and tranquility, and the presence of a diet in its full power will be necessary. And as the Russian declaration insists upon a meeting of a new diet, which being controuled by a foreign army, would only be subservient to the commands of Russia, so the preservation, integrity, laws, liberty, and independence of the republic, require that the same diet, a diet truly free, shall continue its care and deliberations.

“ You see, citizens, what is your situation, you see what measures your king and diet undertake for the common safety. Let the defence of your country engage all your thoughts and attention, let the strictest peace and union prevail amongst you in such a critical moment as this. Follow your king, your father, your commander, follow him whom you have raised to the throne from amongst yourselves, and who, in his advanced age, is going with you to expose his life in the common defence of his country. Let us encourage each other by words and examples; let us boldly encounter all dangers in support of our laws and liberty; let us conquer all difficulties and dangers by our courage and fortitude. Let every man consider, that on the present fate of the republic, depends his own, that of his children, and his latest progeny. Thou God of armies, God of our forefathers, who seekest the innocence and the justice of our cause, who knowest the purity of our intentions, inspire and maintain the spirit of union and concord in the Polish nation; grant success to those arms whose object is not to shed blood for the sake of ambition, of unjust spoil, or dominion over others, but solely to defend our national laws and liberty, which even thou allowest to free and rational beings—to defend that country which thy Almighty power has so often protected, and which even now thou hast rescued from the brink of destruction, by the spirit of thy wisdom and councils. A faithful King and
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nation implore thy assistance, and will praise in hymns of gratitude thy providence and mercy.

“ Wishing that this our address may the sooner reach the public knowledge, we recommend to all *ordinal* commissions of the palatinates and districts, to insert this circular letter in all public records: likewise to have it read from all the pulpits, and published in all the parishes and churches, four following Sundays.

Dated Warsaw, the 29th of May, 1792.

The answer of the Republic of Poland to the Declaration delivered at Warsaw, May 18, 1792, by M. de Bulgakow, Envoy of Russia.

“ The declaration which M. Bulgakow, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, delivered at Warsaw on the 18th of last month, while it presents a state of things unexpected, and calculated to impress with sentiments of grief a free nation, the friend of peace and of justice—solely occupied in providing for her own conservation, her safety, and independence—offers at the same time, in the series of motives alledged in support of its result, a consideration very capable of softening the aspect of consequences afflicting to humanity, which on the first view seemed attached to that declaration. It is, that the impulse by which it was dictated, equally foreign, undoubtedly, to the known magnanimity of her Majesty the Empress, as to the true character of the facts alledged as the reasons of it, bear the visible stamp of unfavourable impressions; the work of a dexterous and interested imposture, which assuming the mask of civic zeal, has found means to surprize the confidence of a sovereign, whose heart it knew accessible to the imposing voice of patriotism.

“ A connected and explanatory narrative of the objects set forth in that declaration, will be sufficient completely to dispel the false light under which malevolence has endeavoured to represent the most simple details, for the purpose of distorting them. Can it be possible that the ascendancy of truth unveiled should find no access to the equitable spirit of her Imperial Majesty?

“ The liberty and the independence of Poland, these two essential attributes of her political existence, are recognized by the declaration itself, to be the objects of all her neighbours in interesting themselves in her affairs. The confirmation of them has also been the guide, the limit of all the wishes and the efforts of the present diet.

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“ To shew to the eyes of all Europe, as well as to those of her Majesty the Empress, that the national liberties, far from having been infringed or sacrificed to the ambitious views of a pretended ruling faction, receive, on the contrary, in the late laws, wise combined, powerful safeguards against all usurpation, a simple exposition of the progress and the results of the labours of the present Assembly shall suffice. It will exhibit the whole equally free from the vice of illegality charged upon it, as from characters incompatible with republican principles.

“ Convoked under the happy auspices of the public spirit, whose energy was soon displayed, the present diet commenced its operations with all the favour of the national opinion. This advantage pointed out the epoch of useful reforms; and it was seized with ardor. But to be efficacious, such an enterprise was ill adapted to the duration and forms of an ordinary diet. The necessity was felt of transforming it into a considerable diet—a mode known and useful, even on less important occasions. The happy effects of this measure soon demonstrated its propriety. The harmony, the active progress of the deliberation, a spirit of fraternity daily more and more apparent, announced a revolution happily effected in the national ideas and dispositions. The public voice applauding the patriotism that centered all efforts in the public good, encouraged the legislators to give to their labours a greater degree of latitude, than the tenor of the act of confederation, prepared in the first fermentation of indefinite ideas of amelioration seemed to embrace,

“ From the natural connexion of the different parts of administration, a partial reform could have produced only results incomplete or incoherent. The administration of justice, the finances, the police, public force, all equally demanded the enlightened eye of examination, and were fully investigated. The general approbation followed close upon and justified every reform that was made. A second choice of representatives, founded on the expiration of the Biennial term, impressed a sanction of the national will, still more imposing on the labours already accomplished, and authorised further proceedings. Accordingly the spirit of the new was soon seen to assimilate with that of the old representatives. A union of will and of sentiment necessarily reinforced the system of patriotic views. In proportion as opinions were enlightened by discussion, and ideas generalised, men's minds approached faster and faster towards conviction, that the best laws would fall short of the good which was their object, if it were not made a point to perfect the means of putting them in execution, and to prevent those periodical convulsions that exposed the best establishment to uncertainty. The consequence was a plan of constitution which was sanctioned on the third of May,

May, and which is only the abstract of a plan of reform of government, ordained by the diet, and submitted to its deliberation nine months before.

In making the crown hereditary, Poland had felt all the reasons for so doing, in a long and unfortunate experience of the troubles inseparable from vacancies of the throne. She even served the interest of the neighbouring powers by the suppression of an abuse, which was the constantly recurring source of speculations and jealousies to cabinets, and exposed them to influences often involuntary and injurious to their own tranquillity. These internal and external advantages appeared a sufficient price for the sacrifice of an illusory prerogative, of which the nations the most enthusiastic in their zeal for liberty, and the most attached to republican principles, have perceived the emptiness and the danger.

“ It was by a calculation deduced from the same experience, that the nation discovered the inconveniences of the vicious composition of the executive power, divided in such a manner as to present imposing forms and inefficient consequences. Deposited in the hands of the King, with proper modifications, it has acquired all the advantages of unity, without leaving an opening for abuses of authority—considering the responsibility of ministers not removeable at will, and subject to the superintendence of the legislative body, which has always the power of preventing or repressing a departure from their duty. Such a system, impressing on government all the energy compatible with republican principles, is equally favourable to external convenience, by the stability which it gives to the political connections of Poland.

“ Thus the constitution of May 3, resting on foundations wisely adapted, is its own defence against the imputations of monarchical views, which the enemies of the prosperity and quiet of their country strive to make believed, to awaken the apprehensions of the nation and the attention of her neighbours—in vain do they exert themselves to paint that memorable day in odious colours.

“ If patriotic enthusiasm, animated by the importance of its objects, as well as by the fear of intrigue, in the slowness of the ordinary forms, the means of making it miscarry, did not confine itself to the strict observance of some formalities, the following sitting of May 5, most eminently compensated for this omission, by impressing on the work the imposing character of the unanimity of a reconsidered opinion, soon did a uniform voice of applause and joy resound from one extremity of the kingdom to another; different national assemblies, different meetings of individuals, successively transmitted to the
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King, in addresses dictated by a patriotic enthusiasm, the public homage of gratitude for the blessing of a constitution, calculated to cement the national prosperity. This public spirit, enlightened with respect to the true interests of the country, crowned its display in the general assembly of the Dietnes, in a manner that astonished all Europe—voluntary oaths to maintain the constitution; homages and delegations solemnly decreed to the King and the states, proved at how high a price it was estimated by the nation. And this is not the solitary conclusion of a small number of districts or palatinates, yielding to the impulse of some preponderating influence; it is the general and uniform expression of profound sentiment, whose towering flight pronounced, banishes all ideas of intrigue, constraint, and seduction; it is the intimate adherence of the nation to a work, in which she sees with conviction the confirmation of her liberties, of her happiness, and her tranquillity.

“ This state of things, which is very far from being exaggerated, refutes the supposition of an existing faction; which according to the terms of the declaration, to accomplish its views of domination at the expence of republican equality, was striving to interpret the act by which the ancient constitutions of Poland were guaranteed, as a heavy and degrading yoke.

“ The Polish nation has but one and the same sentiment on the nature of guarantees. It is conformable to the known ideas of the public jurisprudence of all ages and countries respecting acts of this kind. Their operation cannot be directed but against some third party, who would infringe the rights of one body politic guaranteed by another; and in this sense the guarantee becomes the respectable safeguard of the public tranquillity. Any other acceptance of such political engagements would present only the idea of a shackle, incompatible with the independence of a nation, instead of that of a supporter. The example of the German empire offers no exception to the general axiom. Composed of several states equally free, equally independent, this federative body finds in the guarantee a solid confirmation of the respective rights of each of its co-estates against any other.—The republic of Poland forming but one and the same body politic, comes not within the application. An act of guarantee that should concern her, and that should be entered into by herself over herself, would carry in it a contradictory idea, so much the more, as it is only on the demand of the legal authority of the republic that the guaranteeing power could legally act in consequence of its engagements; otherwise, if a part of the citizens, revolting against authority, could support their insurrection by a foreign interference clothed with an appearance of law—if

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the solitary cry of a few individuals could usurp the rights of a national reclamation, such an abuse of guarantee would become the principle of a subversion of all order, of all tranquillity—a consequence dreadful and repugnant to the common interests of society.

“ In pursuing the developement of the declaration, at the conclusion of the assertions, which inculcate the progress and the whole of the operations of the present diet, are found particular complaints which betray the stamp of the same insidious insinuations that have aggravated the nature of them.

“ The sending of an extraordinary legation to Turkey is represented as having had for its object an offensive league against Russia. It is notorious that this mission had reference to the same period, and to the same motives, as all the others decreed to the greater part of the courts of Europe, that of Petersburg included. If the nomination of this last was fruitless, the fault, it is well known, lay not with government. — The common object of these missions was to make known to all the court, the spirit and the pacific object of the indispensable operations of the diet, tending solely to the amelioration of the internal government. — The same spirit dictated the instructions with which Count Potocki was furnished for Turkey. The negotiation into which he afterwards entered were no part of his original instructions.

“ Being arrived at Constantinople, he found the Ottoman ministry clearly disposed, not only to renew and to cultivate the amicable connexions with Poland, but even to add to them by more positive engagements. Pressed as they were by the arms of Russia, the Ottomans would have been glad to find a useful diversion in an alliance with Poland. They accordingly made the first advances, accompanied with offers the most seductive.

“ The states of the republic being informed of this state of things, having to demand the enjoyment of indulgences, the most important to commerce, founded on ancient treaties, did not think it advisable to reject, by an absolute refusal, these first overtures, which opened a prospect of means and arrangement advantageous to Poland. In the mean time, the instructions to this effect, sent to the minister of the republic, were restricted by all the reservations necessary to secure the interests of Poland, without compromising those of her neighbours. Accordingly the whole of this negotiation, in which the Ottoman ministry shewed as much eagerness to draw the minister of the republic into their views, as he opposed circumspection, offered rather proofs of regard for her Majesty the Empress, than just causes of complaint.

“ The circumstances of the evacuation of the magazines and the Russian troops, set forth with aggravation in the declaration, will

will also appear to be much softened, by recollecting the period to which it belongs.

"It was, in fact, that in which the republic saw herself at the eve of a crisis which might long disturb her internal tranquillity. Official reports from different parts of the kingdom, almost at the same time, had announced the indications of a general disposition to revolt among the peasants of the Greek communion, united and not united. Soon after multiplied advices confirmed the successive unfolding of this germe of sedition. The imminence of the danger called for prompt and vigorous measures. Assurances were obtained, by the uniform depositions of some of the revolvers, apprehended in different parts, that the first sparks of this commotion had been struck and fomented by the fanaticism of some monks of the Greek communion not united, seconded by the suttlers and other Russian subjects. A systematic concert of these machinations appearing in different parts of the kingdom, threatened a dangerous conspiracy — In this alarming situation, the stay and the frequent passing of Russian troops occasioned by their indispensable communications with the magazines established in Poland, gave a just cause of apprehension that their presence might encourage the people, easy to be deluded to a revolt, which they saw daily fomented, by subjects of that nation, and might equally favour the conflux of the latter into the kingdom. These considerations required the measures adopted, both to obtain the entire vacuation of the Russian troops with their magazines, and to subject their passing and staying in Poland, to a regulation compatible with the maintenance of the internal safety,

"The enlightened equity of her Majesty, the Empress, will perceive in this conduct of the Polish government, the symptoms rather of well-founded uneasiness, than of ill-will towards her.

"The same solicitude rendered indispensable the measures qualified in the declaration, with the term of persecution against the Russian subjects.

"In order to stop the conspiracy in its source, endeavours were made to discover the authors. These did not escape the vigilance of enquiry; and, if among a great number of individuals apprehended, the hand of justice fell on some guilty heads, these acts of rigour following as the consequence of regular proceedings, were called for by the interest of the public safety, which was deeply endangered. The charge against the judges of having employed even torture to extort a confession of the crime is repugnant to the known organization of the justice of Poland. Humanity has there proscribed, as in other well-regulated countries, the barbarous practice of torture. No fact, no complaint of this nature, has reached the knowledge of government, which

which would not have failed to do signal justice. The principles of mildness and humanity which direct it, even inspired the foresight of preventing the possibility of having to regret misplaced rigours, that the precipitation of the subordinate judges might have occasioned, at a crisis in which the indications of a flame ready to burst forth, were likely to aggravate apprehension. The establishment of a commission of enquiry provided against it. Its object was to endeavour to cut all the threads of a conspiracy discovered in its birth, and to prevent, rather than punish, the crime. The vigilance, the solicitude of this commission fully answered the expectation of the public. By measures wise and multiplied, it soon succeeded in putting a stop to the fears of a revolt, by cutting off the means of propagating revolt.

"The arrest of the Archimandrite of Sulk was one of those necessary measures. All the suspicions, all the informations supported by depositions were united against him. The rank which he held in the hierarchy of Greek communion not united, in Poland, the credit he possessed among his followers, added to the dangerous influence of his known principles and inclinations, of which his papers, when seized, furnished the proofs. To secure his person was a measure due to the interest of the public safety.

"Such is the collective aspect of measures which the gravity of circumstances commanded. The true colour under which they are here presented clears them of all their odium.

"The particular accident that occurred in the chapel of the Greeks not united, situated in the suburbs of Warsaw, has still less of these odious colours. The inadvertence of a subaltern officer and some soldiers, deceived, as was proved before the commission of enquiry, by the external appearance of the house, occasioned their fault, for which sufficient reparation was made, by the discharge of the one, and the vigorous punishment of the others. False reports have, no doubt, represented this fact like all the rest, accompanied with circumstances of a nature to exasperate the spirit of her Imperial Majesty.

"It was undoubtedly by interesting her delicacy, that it was hoped to surprise her conviction; but the accuracy of knowledge, which distinguishes that Sovereign, will make her easily discover, in this detail of the several objects laid before her as causes of complaint, all the malice that wilful misrepresentation had added to them; and the pure intentions of the King and the Polish nation, may expect in consequence of these explanations, to obtain of her Imperial Majesty, the same justice that impartial Europe has already rendered them.

"But

"But if, contrary to all expectation, these intentions, directed by the love of peace and justice, having no object but the safety and internal peace of Poland, should be still misunderstood; if the reclamations of some individuals, dissatisfied with order, should prevail in the mind of her Majesty the Empress over the wish of the nation; and if the republic should find herself in the melancholy situation of seeing her sovereignty and her legal authority disputed; the Polish nation jealous of the esteem of Europe, jealous of the esteem of a sovereign, who knows how noble sentiments, will not hesitate in its choice between a degrading surrender, and the honourable perils of a necessary defence.

Warsaw, June 1, 1792.

The Original is Signed,

STANISLAUS NALE CZ MALACHOWSKI, Referendary of the Crown, Marshal of the Diet and of the Confederation of the Crown.

CASIMIR NESTOR, Prince Sapieha, General of the Artillery and Marshal of the Confederation of Lithuania.

PRUSSIA

PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA, &c.

THE day after the court of Vienna received news of war being declared by France, the King of Bohemia himself wrote a note to M. Khevenhuller, mareschal of the states of that kingdom, ordering him to announce to the states—"That although he found himself obliged to begin a war, his subjects should not be obliged to raise any sums towards this calamity during the first and second years, if the war should last so long; as his brothers had ceded part of their paternal succession for the purpose, and which the King had already arranged with them."

We are assured the two sovereigns have agreed on a convention, which solely related to the affairs of France.

The tenor of this convention is not yet made public, but there is one in private circulation of an anterior treaty concluded between the two courts on the 7th of last February, and which in substance is as follows:

1. "There shall exist a perfect union and friendship between the two courts.

2. "All anterior treaties, especially those of Breslau, Dresden, Hubertsburg, and Teschen, are renewed and confirmed by the present.

3. "The two courts guarantee and protect all their states which they actually possess at present against all attacks whatever.

4. "In virtue of this guarantee, the two powers will act in concert for the maintenance of peace; and in case of either of them should be menaced, they will employ mutual good offices to prevent hostilities, and should these efforts not prove successful, the party shall assist the one threatened with fifteen thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry.

5. "These troops shall be put in motion within two months after the requisition made, and remain at the disposition of the party attacked during the course of the war. If the requiring party demand these succours in money, they shall receive 600,000 ecus for one thousand infantry, and 80,000 for one

thousand,

thousand, which shall be paid in the year, or proportionably each month, and that on the footing of the convention, or of twenty florins.

6. " In the case these succours are insufficient, the party required will augment them by degrees, according to the urgency of the case.

7. " The two contracting powers reserve to themselves the power of inviting the imperial court of Russia, the two maritime powers of England and Holland, the Elector of Saxony, to unite with them in defensive engagements, conformable to the abovementioned stipulations.

8. " The two sovereigns obliged themselves to maintain the Germanic constitution, as it is established by the present laws and former treaties.

9. " They will not contract any more alliances.

10. " The present treaty shall be ratified in the space of three weeks, or sooner if possible."

NOTE,

Presented by Count de Kellar, the Prussian Minister, to their to their High Mightinesses the States General.

" The ties of confidence and friendship, projected for some years, as well at Berlin as Vienna, have been formally cemented by a defensive treaty of alliance, signed at Berlin, on the 7th of February, and ratified a short time before the decease of the Emperor.

" The King of Prussia, desirous not to retard the communication of this treaty to your High Mightinesses has authorized the undersigned, his envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary, to deliver to you a copy of the said treaty, which he has this day the honour to present to you.

" The stipulations it contains having for their aim the general tranquility of Europe, as well as the repose and happiness of individuals, his Majesty believes them to be perfectly applicable, without the smallest inconvenience, to the position and interests of the United Provinces.

" The King of Hungary and Bohemia, on his part, disposing himself, High and Mighty Lords, to invite you to concur in this alliance, and to propose to you defensive engagements, similar to those of the aforementioned treaty, the friendship and intimate relations which already unite the court of Prussia with the republic, engage his Prussian Majesty to

to advise your High Mightinesses of the overtures his Apostolic Majesty is about to make to you. The King cannot, at the same time, forbear the testimony of the satisfaction he feels, on observing the republic adopt the same principles which have determined his Majesty's alliance with the House of Austria.—Wishing that your High Mightinesses may see, in the same point of view, the utility and advantages which will result from these alliances, the King will felicitate himself on the power of contributing, as far as may depend on his Majesty, to the success of the negotiation, which cannot fail to conduce to the republic, and the satisfaction of all the powers interested.

Hague,

LE COMTE DE KELLER.

April 27, 1792.

BERLIN, *May 24,*

Our court is making preparations to fulfil the engagements which it has contracted with the court of Vienna, and they are at present settling at Potsdam the plan of the campaign against France. The reigning Duke of Brunswick, the intended Generalissimo of the combined troops in the expedition, has gone there for that purpose, as well as the Prince d'Hohenloe, commander in chief of the Austrian troops in Bohemia, and governor of Prague. The chief minister of state, Count de Schulenburg, and General Schonfield, have been there at the same time.

The latter sets out immediately for the electoral courts on the Rhine, in order to adjust the particulars relative to the march and maintenance of the Prussian troops. The Duke of Brunswick has already set out for Potsdam, and Prince de Hohenloe is expected here to-morrow at the hotel of Prince de Reufs, minister of the King of Hungary. The regiment of the hussars of Ebeu, is the first which sets out on its march. Its departure is fixed for the third of June, and its route will be through the territories of Anhalt, Thuringe, and Hesse upon Treves. The other regiments will follow three days afterwards, probably by different routes, not to incommode the country in their progress. A considerable part of the summer will be spent before all the princes combined against France, will be in readiness to act.

DECLA-

DECLARATION

OF THE KINGS OF PRUSSIA AND HUNGARY, DELIVERED
TO ALL THE MINISTERS AT THE DIET OF RATISBON,
EXCEPTING THOSE OF SAXONY AND HANOVER. DE-
LIVERED AT RATISBON, MAY 17, 1792.

“ IN consequence of the association made between all the Princes, on the invitation of the deceased Emperor, for the defence and safety of the empire, the Kings of Prussia and of Hungary, conjointly, hope that none of the States of the Empire will withdraw themselves therefrom; but, on the contrary, will hasten to contribute, by every means in their power, to support the war against France, who threatens the empire. Their Majesties demand, that the aforesaid States, without entering into any discussion on the question, Whether the war is against the Empire or against the House of Austria, will explain themselves categorically on the succours they are willing to supply, and on which, however, they are left to their free will, flattering themselves, however, that the supplies will be proportioned to the grandeur of the respective States. These succours may be given in troops, or in warlike stores and arms, or money, or in provisions, or in full liberty to the belligerent armies to recruit in the said States. If, contrary to all expectation, there should be any State, who, by any reason whatever, renounces the association, their said Majesties will be forced purely and simply to cover their own States, as also those of their allies, and to abandon the others to their fate. They will even adopt the principle, *“ He that is not for us is against us,”* and will put it in execution as circumstances may require; but their Majesties have so high an opinion of the *patriotism* of all the States of the empire, that they assure themselves beforehand of receiving from each a speedy and satisfactory answer.”

“ This declaration, after being made verbally, was delivered in writing to all the Ministers at the Diet, except those of Saxony and Hanover. It was received with general dissatisfaction. The imperious tone assumed by the Kings of Hungary and Prussia, and their menacing the co-estates, were loudly complained of. “ If Francis I.” it was said, “ already takes upon him to command us, what will he do when elected Emperor.”—“ I told you,” said the Minister of Saxony, “ that in this young Prince we should find a *master*.”

HAGUE, *May 23.*

On the 13th inst. Lord Auckland, his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, returned to this place with his family. On the very day of his arrival, he had a conference with the Grand Pensioner, M. Van Spiegel.

We are assured that Great Britain, without any restriction or limitation whatever, has invited several of the courts of Europe, to offer in concert their mediation, to prevent any further conflicts betwixt the powers who have taken up arms: And we may reasonably conjecture that this formed the chief subject of the above conference.

ANSWER OF LORD GRENVILLE TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S OFFICIAL NOTE,

(Inserted in page 116.)

"I have the honour, Sir, to acknowledge the receipt of a note, which you addressed to me, of the date of yesterday. Desiring with ardour and sincerity to maintain, in all affairs which I may have the honour to treat of with you, the harmony and cordiality suitable to the intentions of the King, it is with regret that I find myself under the necessity of making the following observations upon the subject of this piece:

"I am persuaded, that it cannot have been, in the least, your intention to depart from the rules and forms established in this kingdom, for the correspondence of the Ministers of Foreign Powers with the King's Secretary of State in this department; but it is impossible for me not to remark, that, in your last note, the reference is solely to a communication, which you desired me to make to the two Houses of Parliament, before they deliberate upon a subject, with which you appear to believe that they will be occupied. I must, therefore, observe to you, Sir, that, in my quality of Secretary of State to his Majesty, I cannot receive any communication on the part of a Foreign Minister, but for the purpose of laying it before the King, and of taking the orders of his Majesty upon it; and that the deliberations of the two Houses of Parliament, as well as the communications, which it may please his Majesty to make to them, relative to the affairs of the kingdom, are objects entirely foreign from all diplomatic correspondence, and upon which

which it is impossible for me to enter into any discussion whatever with the Ministers of other Courts.

" This, Sir, is the only answer which it is possible for me to make to the note in question, which, as well with respect to its form as to its object, cannot be considered as a regular and official communication. I shall always have the greatest pleasure in reporting to his Majesty the assurances which you may be authorised to give me for that purpose of the amicable dispositions of your Court; and I entreat you to accept my expression of the esteem and the high consideration, with which I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

" GRENVILLE."

FRANCE.

[The critical state of affairs in this kingdom, have formed the principal and almost exclusive subject of public consideration, for several weeks past: We therefore resume an ample, as well as an impartial, account of every interesting occurrence and an accurate copy of every important document, that can tend to present and preserve a faithful representation of a period, equally momentous to France, and to all civilized nations; *continued from page 72.*—The nature and plan of our publication (being periodical) oblige us to adopt this mode of *continuing* our monthly statements, of the events and views of the several Powers of Europe. By this mode, we gain opportunity to correct the precipitate effusions and artful misrepresentations of either, and sometimes of both parties. Upon this foundation, our publication is constructed: and, in consequence, we shall take a view of the politics and transactions of all the belligerent powers. Those of France exhibit the most prominent feature; and we presume, that our readers will find the following pages perfectly correct, full, and authentic.]

PARIS, *May 20.*

The following official letter from the Marechals Rochambeau and Luckner, has been communicated by the Minister at War :

" On the 17th of May, the patroles belonging to the advanced guard posted at Bavai, returned a little before day-break, and gave information that they had not observed the enemy in motion.

" Soon after, however, an Austrian corps of about two or three hundred men were seen issuing out of the wood of Sarthe, and advancing in three columns, one of which occupied the road to Maubeuge, and the other that leading to Valenciennes.

" In a short time, the cannon of the town was got ready, and the flag hoisted. The detachment of 80 men stationed there, behaved with great gallantry, and killed several of the enemy; but having remained too long at their post, and neglecting to retire in time, they were all surrounded and taken prisoners, except an officer and 23 Hussars, who fell back to Bouvigny, and then retreated by Quesnoy.

" The moment that we had notice of the attack, M. Noailles received orders to march with a van-guard, consisting of three squadrons of the 3d regiment of Hussars, three of the 1st regiment of Chasseurs, two of the 5th, two companies of grenadiers, and two pieces of cannon. M. le Marechal Luckner himself accompanied this advanced guard; M. Rochambeau then followed with the 1st battalions of the 5th, 24th, and 25th regiments of infantry, a squadron of the 17th regiment of cavalry, four pieces of cannon, and two howitzers. The proper dispositions were then made for an attack; but the enemy were found to have retreated two hours before the arrival of the Marechal de Luckner.

" The Austrians had entered the town of Bavai to the number of 2,500 men, with four pieces of cannon, and two howitzers. The soldiers wished to plunder it; but they were restrained by the officers, who, on this occasion, made use of the most exemplary severity. They retired with the utmost diligence behind the forest of Sarthe; and carried with them six carriages loaded with forage, and two waggons filled with their wounded men.

" The Marechal Rochambeau has brought back his troops to their former posts, after having left a detachment at Bavai, which shall be reinforced in case of need.

(Signed)

" The Marechals LUCKNER and ROCHAMBEAU."

May

May 24.

M. de Goltz, the Minister from the Court of Berlin, quits Paris this day; M. Blumendorff, the Charge d'Affaires of the King of Hungary, and M. Novikoff, the Charge d'Affaires of the Empress, depart also. They all go to Brussels.

It is an important fact, that the whole plan and conduct of the war is left to the Generals themselves, without the knowledge or other co-operation of the Ministers than what shall fall into their several departments of providing the necessary supplies, directing the reinforcements, &c. &c.—But all plans of attack, of defence, of co-operation, &c. are to be framed by the Generals of the three armies, without being communicated to the Ministers. Accordingly, on the 19th instant, Messrs. Rochambeau, Luckner, and La Fayette, held a conference at Valenciennes, in which the plan of the campaign was settled; and it will remain in their breasts until it shall be developed by its operations. They addressed to all the military commanders packets, which were not to be opened until a certain day.

M. de Rochambeau has quitted his command, and is now in Paris.

May 25.

The Mayor of Paris having been informed of a report which prevailed of the King's intention to quit this capital, gave notice to the Commandant of the forces to be upon his guard. The King was offended that the Mayor should have taken this precaution, and wrote the two following letters to the two administrative bodies, which, at the request of the Procureur-General-Syndic, the directory caused to be posted up through the city this morning.

LETTER OF THE KING TO THE DIRECTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PARIS, MAY 23.

"I send you, Gentlemen, the copy of a letter, which I have addressed to the municipality, respecting the letter which the Mayor wrote to the Commandant-General of the national guard. You will easily perceive the malice of the report circulated in the present critical situation. I doubt not that the directory will redouble its vigilance and care for the maintenance of the public tranquillity.

(Signed)

"LOUIS,"
COPY

COPY OF THE LETTER OF THE KING TO THE MUNICIPALITY OF PARIS, MAY 23.

" I have seen, Gentlemen, a letter which the Mayor wrote yesterday evening to the Commandant-General of the national guard, in which he expresses alarm respecting my departure during the night; founded, he says, upon probable information. To this intelligence, he adds reports of commotions and disturbances, and gives orders to increase the patrols, and render them more numerous. Why does the Mayor, in consequence of such reports, give orders to the Commandant-General, and communicate nothing to me, since it is his duty by the Constitution, to execute under my direction the laws for the maintenance of the public tranquillity? Has he forgotten the letter which I wrote to the municipality during the month of February? You will readily perceive, Gentlemen, that this report is, in the present circumstances, a new and horrid calumny, by means of which it is attempted to excite the people, and alarm them respecting the cause of the present disturbances. I am apprized of all the arts which are at present employed, and still in agitation, to inflame the minds of the people, and compel me to leave my capital. But they shall all be in vain. While France has enemies to encounter at home and abroad, my place is in the capital. It is there I trust to be able to disappoint the criminal expectation of the factious.

" I place an unreserved confidence in the citizens of Paris, in the national guard always respectable, and the detachments of which employed on the frontiers have given new proofs of their excellent dispositions. They will perceive, that their honour, in the present moment, requires them to redouble their zeal and vigilance. Guarded by them, and confident of the purity of my intentions, I will always be at ease whatever event may occur, and whatever attempts may be made, nothing shall alter my solicitude and vigilance for the welfare of the kingdom."

(Signed)

" LOUIS."

LETTER FROM M. PETION, MAYOR OF PARIS, TO HIS FELLOW CITIZENS, RESPECTING THE KING'S LETTER TO THE MUNICIPALITY OF PARIS,

" CITIZENS,

" It was difficult for me to foresee, that a requisition, simple in itself, dictated by prudence, and confided to him in whose

whose hands the law has deposited the armed force of the capital, would become an affair of importance, and be referred to the tribunal of public opinion.

" Our present circumstances are embarrassing. Men's minds are in a state of agitation; Paris is crowded with strangers, most of whom are suspected persons; all France feels disquiet on this account; projects of counter-revolution are loudly talked of; and it is a matter of common conversation, that violent commotions are to be excited, amid which treasons will be committed, and the King carried off.

" Letters, and advices innumerable, give information of these facts, and accompany them, some with presumptions, and some with proofs.

" May 23d was the day fixed on by the National Assembly for an important discussion. This day was expected with a lively impatience.

" On the evening preceding, I saw several citizens, who told me, that there were extraordinary movements at the Palace. I received a letter, containing positive information that the scene of the poignards was to be renewed. At ten at night, a woman of credit came to acquaint me with some particulars not to be neglected. At the same time, different persons assured me, that crowds were beginning to assemble round the Thuilleries, and urgently pressed me to take proper measures. Was it allowable for me to be inactive? Indifference would have been a crime. "

" At half an hour past ten, I wrote the following letter :

" M. COMMANDANT-GENERAL,

" Many persons have communicated to me their fears for the King's departure to-night; commotions and tumults are mentioned as intended. The whole is accompanied with probabilities and means of proof. I therefore entreat you not to lose a moment to take every measure of observation and prudence, to multiply the patroles in the environs, and to make them numerous."

" This letter I think wise, and conceived in the most cautious terms.

" That I had a right to apply to the Commandant-General, that I had a right to engage him to take all the means which prudence dictated, and to multiply the patroles, is not a question to be asked; it cannot be doubted. A very remarkable passage in this respect has crept into the King's letter. By the Constitution, the King, as supreme head of the administration, may issue orders to the department, by whom they are to be transmitted to the municipalities. Such is the descending chain—but as for all the functions that are of the essence of the municipal

municipal powers, such as the police committed to them, the municipalities exercise these functions immediately, and without receiving any orders. The departments superintend them, and the King exercises jurisdiction over the whole. Such is the ascending chain. It is therefore incorrect to say, that I ought to have taken the King's orders; for it would then be the King who would govern the police of Paris, who would communicate his pleasure to the Mayor, who would have to transmit it to the Commandant of the guard. The King would also be the actual Commander of the national guard, which, by law, is not entrusted to him.

"I am, therefore, of opinion, that my letter was prudent in itself, and such as I was authorised to write.—I will add, that it was incumbent on me to write it.

"It ought to have been known only to the Commandant and myself, like all those which I write to him respecting the service, and the maintainance of the public tranquillity. On this point, I am willing to believe, that there was only indiscretion on the part of the Commandant, or of the person to whom he communicated my letter; but the officious person who transmitted it to the King, and endeavoured, at whatever hazard, to make it public, had evidently bad intentions. The intention, for instance, of making it be thought that the King was not free, and that attempts were made to fetter him. This, it is well known, is the favourite system, constantly pursued by a set of men who are enemies to our Revolution, and to our Constitution.

"The King considers the rumour of his departure as a horrible calumny—Good! Who was it that gave currency to this rumour? Those who gave publicity to a confidential letter.

"But now that it is before the eyes of the public, I desire that it may be judged with rigour. Every impartial man will easily see, that, if the King himself had been to take precautions for the public tranquillity, and for the safety of his person, he could not have imagined any other.

"Had he wished to resist a party of factious persons, who were attempting to ravish him from the nation? He would have commanded *force and watchfulness*.

"Had he wished to prevent evil-disposed persons from rushing in crowds into the palace? He would have commanded *force and watchfulness*.

"What did I require? *Force and watchfulness*. What have I done? I watched while my fellow-citizens slept.

"PETITION."

"Paris, May 24,
"4th Year of Liberty."

LETTER FROM M. DE MONTESQUIOU, GENERAL OF THE
SOUTHERN FRENCH ARMY; TO M. M. REBEQUY AND
FAURE, COMMISSARIES FOR AVIGNON.

Nismes, May 11, 1792.

" You are doubtless, Gentlemen, already informed of the march of the King of Sardinia's troops towards Var, Montmeliant, and even to parts much nearer to Lyon. You know, also, that I am at the head of an army intended to oppose the attempts of these troops, and that all the forces under my command are upon their march to the places menaced. I have also the most positive orders of the King to form a camp immediately at Var, another at Barraux, and a third in a proper situation for protecting Lyon.

" In these circumstances, the kingdom, on this side, can be defended only by the troops nearest to the frontiers, not by those, whom the most speedy marches cannot bring hither in less than a month."

ACCOUNT OF THE ACTION BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND
AUSTRIANS AT FLORENNES.

" I hasten to give you a detail of a very spirited action that has taken place between the advanced guard of the army of M. La Fayette, commanded by M. Gouvion, and the enemy—the result of which, though it was not a victory, is very satisfactory, and well calculated to animate the spirits of the French army.

" The day preceding the action, that is, on the 22d of May, this advanced guard had been employed in foraging, which they had done with complete success.

" On the 23d, at break of day, M. Gouvion was attacked at Hamphine, near Florennes, by a force superior to his own. The French force consisted of between three and four thousand men.

" The Austrian advanced guard were twice repulsed by a detachment of light infantry, to which were joined the grenadiers of the 55th, and a squadron of the 11th, the whole under the orders of the second Lieutenant-Colonel, and which not giving way till the third assault, then joined in the village of St. Aubin two companies of volunteer grenadiers. While they defended this village, M. Gouvion seeing, by the distribution
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of the force of the enemy, their superiority, gave orders to dispatch his camp-equipage to Philipville, the whole of which was accordingly carried off, except twenty tents, which they were forced to abandon for want of carriages.

“ The two bodies cannonaded each other a long time ; and as a column of the enemy advanced on the right of the French position, and there erected batteries, M. Gouvion, to prevent them from opening on the ravine, placed on his flank the 11th and 13th regiments of chasseurs, and a company of the 6th.— These squadrons exposed themselves to a very heavy fire of cannon and howitzers, which they bore with the coolest bravery. But as the enemy prepared to pass in very great force the ravine which separated them from the infantry, the volunteer battalions of the Cote-d’Or, and of la Marne, and the 55th and 83d regiments, formed themselves into a column, in half battalions, and retired precisely in the order prescribed, each troop preserving its distance, the cavalry covering the movement, and the artillery profiting from every point to fire on the enemy.

“ During this retreat, while the troops measured back about half a league of ground, three pieces of cannon having continued till the last moment to fire, and having lost their horses, were taken by the enemy ; one of these pieces had fallen into the ravine. A fourth piece was saved under a very heavy fire by the artillerymen, and some volunteers of the Cote-d’Or.

“ The enemy immediately moved back towards the position from which they set out ; and they were, through the whole march, so closely harassed by the French, that the cavalry of their rear-guard three times charged the party that pursued them ; and a detachment of M. Gouvion’s party repossessed itself of the field of battle, and of their former posts, in two hours after the affair.

“ All the officers and soldiers merit the greatest encomiums. During an action of five hours not one man quitted the ranks, and the troops preserved the silence and sang-froid, as well as the courage of veterans.

“ After the action, M. la Fayette sent to Hamphine a reserve of some companies of grenadiers and squadrons of horse, under the command of Major General Moubourg ; but the enemy had retired before their arrival.”

PLAN OF THE DECREE AGAINST PRIVATEERING.

1. That no commission of marque and reprisal should be granted.

2. That

2. That no vessel, armed merely for its own defence, should be permitted to capture any vessel of the enemy, unless they were provoked to it by constraint.

3. That no ship of the enemy should be taken unless armed for war.

4. Corsairs taken by the armed ships of the nation shall be enquired into by the tribunal of the district into which they are carried, and all Frenchmen found on board, as active partizans, shall be punished with death. The subjects of the power at war shall be sent to prison, and the subjects of foreign powers shall be dealt with according to the arrangements to be agreed on with such powers, and, in the mean time, that they shall be confined in prison.

5. All losses by merchants and individuals shall be ascertained, and the amount thereof shall be a claim of indemnity, as a preliminary to any peace with the enemy.

6. The Assembly invites the King to propose by his Ambassadors at foreign courts, the absolute suppression of privateering, and to give to all nations assurances, that, in so far as depends on the French nation, the liberty of navigation and commerce, the reciprocal tie of nations, and their common resource, shall be preserved.

June 8.

This day the President of the National Assembly read a note from Mr. William Priestley, son of Dr. Priestley, desiring to be admitted to the Bar. The Assembly decided that he should be instantly admitted. He accordingly came to the Bar.

M. François, of Nantes, said, that Mr. Priestley wrote and spoke French with great fluency, but he had a voice extremely weak, and therefore he begged to be permitted to read his address.

“ WILLIAM PRIESTLEY of Birmingham, the son of Dr. PRIESTLEY, to the Representatives of the French People.

“ William Priestley is eager to pay the just tribute of his respects to the first Magistrates of a people, who have rendered themselves so famous not only in England, but in all nations who set a value on liberty, on energy, and virtue. ‘Go,’ said his father to him—‘go and live among this brave and hospitable people; learn from them to detest tyranny and to love liberty.’

“ William Priestley is therefore come into the country of Frenchmen—he proposes to fix his residence there; and he desires to enjoy the rights of a French citizen, a title which he prefers an hundred times to that of the King of an arbitrary State.

State.—If he shall become a Member of a sovereign people, who will honour him by their adoption, he shall always have present to his memory and heart, in the exercise of his duties as a citizen and a soldier, the public spirit of the nation, the energy of its magistrates, and the lessons of his father.”

To this Address the President returned the following answer :

“ All freemen are brothers, and certainly it is not without pride that France will adopt the son of Doctor Priestley.—The Assembly invites you to the honour of the fitting.”

The short address of Mr. Priestley was received with the most enthusiastic applause.

M. François then spoke as follows :

“ Doctor Priestley, on sending his son to France, confided to my care the precious deposit. I cannot better fulfil the confidence, than by recommending the son of a great man to the Representatives of a great people. It is not for Dr. Priestley that I speak—genius has no need of apology ; but for the French people, who feel the duty of manifesting to him their gratitude. Some few words, pronounced from this rostrum, besides that they will be a just homage rendered to a celebrated man, ought naturally to precede and explain the decree, of which I mean to submit the outline to your deliberation.

“ Who is the man so barbarous as not to know Dr. Priestley by his works and his reputation ! He belongs, by his genius and by his labours, to the learned world—to the friends of liberty, by the eloquent writings that he has published for the noble cause—to all good men, by his virtues ;—but he belongs, above all, to the French Revolution, by all that he has done—by all that he has suffered for it. He was one of the first men in England who raised his voice in its defence, and to make known its true principles. But it never was with impunity that a man dedicated his life to the emancipation of a people, and the happiness of his species. More than forty volumes, by which he had enlarged the sphere of human intelligence, established the principles of the present morality, inspired a generous hatred against the tyrants of society, and against the vices which are the tyrants of the soul, justly entitled him to the honour of being detested by all those who had founded their enjoyments or their power upon the ignorance, the corruption, and the blindness of mankind. Scarcely had he declared himself the defender and the apostle of our Constitution, than there sprang forth against him the knight-errant of English literature, who, in the vapouring paroxysms of an imagination filled with paladines and prodigies, raised a monument (as brilliant as it was disgraceful) to French chivalry, and to the servitude
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of man. This extravagant rhetorician called the popular vengeance on the head of Dr. Priestley, and he prepared his prescription by his writings, as once an infamous writer prepared by his comedies, the punishment of Socrates. But the names of Socrates, and of Priestley, will live honourably in the memories of mankind; while those of Aristophanes, and of this writer, in proportion as they traverse future generations, will be loaded with the opprobrium and execrations of all good men.

“ Dr. Priestley was to preside at one of those feasts which were held in every county in England, in honour of the French Revolution. It entered into the plan of his adversaries to oppose this feast, and to spread terror among all the friends of the French Revolution. They calumniated Dr. Priestley as they calumniate ourselves, by saying, that he wished to operate a grand overthrow of the established government. To render him odious, a hand-bill was posted, in his name, by which they were to cry for the subversion of the Throne, and the destruction of the Parliament. They accused him of imaginary crimes, to have occasion to commit, the night after, crimes too real. Oh, shame to Birmingham sedition!—Oh, the eternal infamy of the oppressors! Can I paint to you the outrages done to humanity—to virtue, in this ill-fated night! Figure to yourselves this illustrious man, forced to fly with his family—to wander all night without asylum, and without guide;—he, whose whole life had been the continual effusion of a tender nature; in whom it was a natural instinct to spread benefits and knowledge—actually proscribed—pursued by assassins, and seeing from afar, the flames devour his house—the sanctuary of peaceable virtue—the precious depot of human intelligence, that no sensible man could approach, but with respect! Such was the serenity of his pure conscience, that he was unwilling to quit his house—that he could not permit himself to believe that he had one enemy upon earth, and they were obliged to force him away from the incendiaries, as he thought that his merely presenting himself would calm their fury. His son, whom you see, still of a tender age, remained alone among them. He rescued manuscripts from the flames; and implored them with tears, to spare the monuments of his father’s glory; but their mission was, above all things, to burn his works; for that which, of all things, vice dreads the most, is the writings of virtue.—These banditti were unknown at Birmingham and in the county of Warwick. I dare even assure you that they were not Englishmen, and that they were probably the descendants of these barbarians, who, many ages ago poured from their forests in the North, with their axes in their hands, and entered a city celebrated

celebrated by its genius and its arts, to overthrow its temples, break down the statues of its gods, and mutilate the conceptions of its greatest masters.

"The Cabinet of St. James pursued and punished with severity, these malefactors. Inadequate indemnity has been given to Dr. Priestley; but who is it that can render him back his manuscripts, the fruit of so much toil and watching? Who can render to the world the lights and advantages that would have resulted from the experiments made by a hand so adroit in a cabinet, one of the richest in the world? These experiments by which he knows, with so much sagacity, to put nature to interrogatories, to force her to avow her secrets, and to imitate her in her most astonishing phenomena! Who knows that there would not have resulted from these experiments, a discovery by which he would once more have burst the narrow limits of our knowledge; he, who by discovering the different weight of airs, prepared the imagination of Frenchmen for that brilliant invention which has enlarged the dominion of man!

"If the Sorbonne, that hideous daughter of darkness, had burnt the cabinets of Pascal, of Torricelli, how much must the sciences have suffered even to this day? If Seguier, that eternal persecutor of genius, had stifled its voice in the flames; if instead of burning the printed works of Jean Jacques, he had burnt the manuscripts, who knows if the first people of the earth had not still languished in slavery? The authority of the magistrates of a people has for its limits the empire which they inhabit; but a man of genius is the magistrate of the universe. This magistracy exercises its power without axes or stripes; but all who understand, and all who think, obey him; and his authority knows no bounds but those of the world.

"Sometimes we have seen genius prostitute itself to kings, or to factions, and present that mixture of grandeur and baseness, which forces the mind to admire him even whom the heart detests. But England and America will tell you that Dr. Priestley has always lived far apart from all intrigues and from all ambition; that frequently he has fled from men that he might love them the more and serve them the more, and that in his own manners he recalls the time, pure from all the vices with which corruption has since sullied it, when learning was not an instrument in the hands of ambition, and when they knew but one and the same word to express knowledge and wisdom. A numerous youth actually press around him, and receive his lessons at the College of Hackney, where I formerly have heard the voice of Dr. Price celebrate the charms of virtue, and, the new Fenelon, made it loved by its eloquence, as much as he commanded its practice by his example.

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"Let us give thanks to the destiny that brings and fixes in France the son of Dr. Priestley, and let us seize with eagerness this occasion to convert into a grand act of national gratitude, those honours that the citizens and societies of the kingdom have addressed to this celebrated martyr of the French Revolution. Versailles was in former times the asylum of kings vanquished by their rivals, or expelled by their people. May the National Assembly be to-day, may it be for ever, the asylum of persecuted virtue! The welcome given to the son of Dr. Priestley will do more honour to France, than the reception which it formerly gave to the rebel and catholic posterity of the House of Stuart, who drew out a long and miserable existence at our Court, and languished in the despair of not being able to sacrifice their people to their church.

"May the honourable decree by which you are about to adopt the son of Dr. Priestley, pour some consolation into the breast of an unfortunate father, who follows with solicitude the steps of his son through the movements of a great people, who for three years have given to the world the spectacle of their virtue, and who arm themselves with the weapons by which they were formerly enslaved, to defend themselves against tyrants, who may tire out their patience, but who can never subdue their courage—into the breast of a virtuous mother who, separated from her son, can taste no repose—for what anxiety and what sorrow are comparable to the anxiety and sorrow of a mother! May this decree conciliate to us the good will of the representatives of the English people who are about to support in Parliament the cause of Dr. Priestley, and of this people themselves, with whom so many sentiments of common interest unite us, and with whom we partake, above all, the lively indignation which they feel against the authors of the sedition at Birmingham! May it, in fine, prove to Europe, that if, on one hand, France is forced to vomit forth from her territory the fanatics and traitors who agitate and betray her, on the other she opens her arms to virtuous men who do her honour, and she enriches herself by thus replacing the vices by the virtues.

"I demand that Letters of Naturalization be granted to William Priestley, and that the Committee of Legislation be directed to present to you the draught of the said Decree."

This speech was several times interrupted by applause, and it was ordered to be printed.—M. Lacedepede seconded the motion in a short and pointed speech, and it passed in the affirmative unanimously.

LETTER FROM M. LA FAYETTE TO THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY.

Entrenched Camp of Maubeuge, June 16, 1792;
4th year of Liberty:

" GENTLEMEN,

" At the moment, too long delayed, perhaps, at which I am going to call your attention to great public interests, and point out among our dangers the conduct of a ministry, which my correspondence has long since accused, I am informed that, unmasked by its divisions, it has sunk under its own intrigues; for, undoubtedly, it is not by sacrificing three colleagues, from their own insignificance the mere creatures of his power; that the least excusable, the most noted of these ministers, will have cemented in the King's council his equivocal and scandalous existence.

" It is not enough, however, that this branch of the Government should be delivered from a baneful influence. The public weal is in danger; the fate of France depends chiefly on her representatives; of them the nation expects her salvation. But, when she gave herself a constitution, she prescribed to them the only course by which they can save her.

" Persuaded, Gentlemen, that as the Rights of Man are the Law of every Constituting Assembly, a constitution once formed becomes the Law to the Legislators appointed under it, it is to yourselves that I am bound to denounce the too powerful efforts now making to carry you beyond the rule which you have promised to follow.

" Nothing shall hinder me from exercising this right of a free man, from fulfilling this duty of a citizen; neither the momentary errors of opinion, for what are opinions when they deviate from principles? nor my respect for the representatives of the people; for I respect still more the people themselves, of whom the Constitution is the will supreme; nor the favour you have constantly shewn to me; for that I wish to preserve, as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

" Your circumstances are difficult; France is menaced from without, and agitated within. While foreign courts announce the intolerable project of attacking our national sovereignty, and thus declare themselves the enemies of France, internal foes, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and fatigue us still more with their insolent malignity.

" You ought, Gentlemen, to suppress them; and you cannot have the power to do so, without being yourselves constitutional and just.

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" You desire to be so without doubt ; but cast your eyes on what passes in your own body, and all around you.

" Can you dissemble that a faction, and to avoid vague denominations, that the Jacobite faction has occasioned all the disorders ? It is that faction to which I loudly impute them. Organized like a separate empire in its metropolis and its affiliations, blindly directed by certain ambitious chiefs, this sect forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose power it usurps by subjugating their representatives, and their mandataries.

" It is there that, in public sittings, love of the laws is denominated Aristocracy, and their infraction Patriotism—There the assassins of Desilles receive triumphs—the crimes of Jourdan find panegyrists—there also the recital of the assassination that stained the city of Metz, excited infernal acclamations of joy.

" Can it be believed that they will escape reproaches by sheltering themselves under an Austrian manifesto, in which these sectaries are named ? Are they become sacred, because Leopold has pronounced their name ? And because we have to fight with foreigners, who presume to meddle in our quarrels, are we released from the duty of delivering our country from domestic tyranny ?

" What import to this duty either the projects of foreigners, or their connivance with counter-revolutionists, or their influence on the lukewarm friends of liberty ? It is I who denounce this sect ; I who, without speaking of my past life, can answer to those who feign suspicions of me—' Approach in this critical moment, in which every man's character will soon be known, and let us see which of us, most inflexible in his principles, most firm in his resistance, will best brave the obstacles and the dangers which traitors wish to hide from their country, and which true citizens know how to calculate and encounter for her sake.'

" And how should I longer delay to fulfil this duty, when every day weakens the constituted authorities, and substitutes the spirit of a party for the will of the people ; when the audacity of agitators imposes silence on peaceable citizens, and supplants useful men ; when devotion to a sect is made the substitute of all public and private virtues, what in a free country ought to be the austere and only means of arriving at the first functions of government ?

" It is after having opposed to all obstacles and all snares the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to combinations against its leader, that I can now oppose to this faction the correspondence of a ministry the worthy production of its club—a correspondence of which all the cal-

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culations are false, the promises vain, the information fraudulent or frivolous, the councils perfidious or contradictory; where, after having pressed me to advance without precaution, and to attack without means, they began to tell me that resistance would soon be impossible, when my indignation repelled the dastardly assertion.

“What remarkable conformity of language, Gentlemen, between those factious men who avow their aristocratic spirit, and those who usurp the name of patriots. Both wish to subvert our laws, rejoice in disorders, rise up against the authorities conferred by the people, detest the national guard, preach indiscipline to the army, and sow sometimes distrust, sometimes discouragement.

“As for me, Gentlemen, who espoused the American cause, at the very moment when its ambassadors declared to me that it was lost; who thence forward devoted myself to a persevering defence of liberty, and the sovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, on presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to tell her—*For a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it*; I come now, full of confidence in the justice of our cause, of contempt for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who would sell it; I come to declare that the French nation, if she is not the most vile in the universe, may and ought to resist the conspiracy of Kings formed against her.

“It is not undoubtedly in the midst of my brave army, that timid sentiments are permitted: patriotism, energy, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the civil and military virtues I have found in it. In it the principles of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws respected, property sacred; in it neither calumnies nor factions are known; and when I recollect that France has several millions capable of becoming such soldiers, I ask myself to what pitch of debasement would an immense people be reduced, still stronger in their natural resources, than in the defences of art, opposing to a monstrous confederation the advantage of combinations directed to a single object, for the base idea of sacrificing their sovereignty, of covenanting for their liberty, of submitting their declaration of rights to negotiation, to appear one of the possibilities of the issue that is rapidly advancing upon us.

“But in order that we, soldiers of Liberty, may fight with efficacy, or die with profit to our cause, it is necessary that the number of the defenders of our country be speedily proportioned to that of their adversaries; that stores of all sorts be multiplied, and facilitate all our motions; that the comfort of the troops, their equipage, their pay, the provisions for their health

health, be no longer exposed to fatal delays, or pretended savings, which always turn out the direct reverse of their object.

"Above all, it is necessary that the citizens, rallied around the Constitution, be assured that the rights which it guarantees will be respected with a religious fidelity, that shall drive its enemies, concealed or public, to despair.

"Reject not this wish: It is that of the sincere wish of the friends of your legitimate authority. Assured that unjust consequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical measures can serve a cause which owes its force and its glory to the sacred basis of liberty and equality, make criminal justice resume its constitutional course, make civil equality and religious liberty enjoy the entire application of their true principles.

"Let the royal power be untouched, for it is guaranteed by the Constitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the springs of our liberty; let the King be revered, for he is invested with the national Majesty; let him have the power of choosing a ministry that wears not the chains of a faction; and if there be conspirators, let them perish by the sword of the law.

"In fine, let the reign of clubs, annihilated by you, give place to the reign of the law, their usurpations to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities, their disorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty, their delirious fury to the calm and steady courage of a nation that understands its rights, and defends them: In fine, their factious combinations to the true interests of our country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all those to whom her subjugation and her ruin are not objects of atrocious joy, or infamous speculation.

"Such, Gentlemen, are the representations and the petitions submitted to the National Assembly, as they are to the King, by a citizen, whose love of liberty will never be honestly questioned; whom the different factions would hate less, if he had not raised himself above them by his disinterestedness; whom silence would have better become, if, like so many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the National Assembly, and the confidence with which it is of importance that it should be surrounded; and who can better testify his own confidence, than by laying before it the truth without disguise.

"Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conscience, and the obligation of my oaths. I owed it to my country, to you, to the King, and above all to myself, whom the chances of war do not allow to postpone observations that I think useful, and who wish to believe that the Assembly will find in this a new homage of my devotion to its constitutional authority, of my personal gratitude, and of my respect.

(Signed)

"LA FAYETTE."

LETTER FROM M. LA FAYETTE TO THE KING.

M. La Fayette sent a copy of his letter to the National Assembly to the King, with the following letter to his Majesty :

“ Entrenched camp of Maubenge, June 16th, 1792,
“ 4th Year of Liberty.

“ SIRE,

“ I have the honour to send your Majesty the copy of a letter to the National Assembly, in which your Majesty will find the expression of sentiments that have animated my whole life. The King knows with what ardour, with what constancy, I have been at all times devoted to the cause of liberty, to the sacred principles of humanity, equality, and justice. He knows that I was always the adversary of factions, the enemy of licentiousness, and that no power, which I thought unlawful, was ever acknowledged by me. He knows my devotion to his constitutional authority, and my attachment to his person. Such, Sire, are the basis of my letter to the National Assembly; such will be those of my conduct towards my country and your Majesty, amid the storms which so many combinations, hostile or factious, strive to draw upon us.

“ It belongs not to me, Sire, to give to my opinions or my measures a higher degree of importance than the unconnected acts of a simple citizen ought to possess; but the expression of my thoughts was always a right, and, on this occasion, becomes a duty; and, although I might have fulfilled this duty sooner, if, instead of being to be heard from the midst of a camp, my voice had been to issue from the retreat from which I was drawn by the dangers of my country, I do not think that any public function, any personal consideration, releases me from exercising this duty of a citizen, this right of a freeman.

“ Persist, Sire, strong in the authority which the national will has delegated to you, in the generous resolution of defending the principles of the Constitution against all their enemies. Let this resolution, supported by all the acts of our private life, as by a firm and full exercise of the royal power, become the gage of harmony, which, above all, in the moments of crisis, cannot fail to be established between the Representatives elected by the people, and their hereditary Representative. It is in this resolution, Sire, that for your country and for yourself are glory and safety. There you will find the friends of liberty, all good Frenchmen, ranged around your throne, to defend it against the machinations of the rebellious, and the enterprizes of the factious. And I, Sire, who, in their honourable hatred,

have

have found the recompence of my persevering opposition—I will always merit it by my zeal to serve the cause to which my whole life is devoted, and by my fidelity to the oath which I have taken to the nation, the law, and the King.

“Such, Sire, are the unalterable sentiments of which I subjoin the homage and that of my respect.

(Signed)

“LA FAYETTE.”

[*The CLUB to which M. LA FAYETTE principally alludes, in the preceding letter, is the JACOBIN CLUB. This society takes its name from that of the house in which the members meet. It was the late Convent of the Jacobins: The hall of which is capacious, and open to strangers; with extensive galleries, and seats for all ranks of people. In this society many questions are discussed before they are introduced into the National Assembly; and a journal of the society's debates is regularly published.*]

In the debates on the 21st of May, these words are pronounced by the President—“It is not possible for a patriotic citizen to remain in the King's service—it is a proof of the adage, *like master, like man.*”—In the debates of the society on the 23d of May, the Generals La Fayette and Narbonne are represented as traitors—as perfidious miscreants, deserving a scaffold, and ready to go over to join the enemy.

There is no doubt, but that these debates provoked M. la Fayette to write the preceding letters to the National Assembly and to the King.

On the 18th of June, the Jacobin Club entered into a discussion of M. La Fayette's letters.

M. Merlin wished it should be proposed to the National Assembly, to issue an impeachment against Washington's petulant pupil, and that it should be decreed a lawful act to kill him, when an opportunity offered.

A Member conceived it would be an excellent means of introducing order and discipline into the army, to send a copy of General La Fayette's letter to every soldier under his command,—he could not then escape universal contempt.

M. Camille Desmoulins feared the army would petition against the Jacobins, the saviours of France.

M. Robertspierre considered La Fayette's letter to be highly criminal; it was a most heinous offence—it was shocking. He could not convey an adequate idea of the horror it inspired him with. He thought he heard La Fayette say to the National Assembly—Tremble! for I am at the head of 45,000 men, and ready to enter France. In short, after having expatiated on the General's conduct, he moved an impeachment against him.—

“Strike

"Strike La Fayette, said he, and France is redeemed; he made the King run away; it is his intention to do so again; all future troubles will be instigated by him; but, if he be speedily overturned, the people's cause will triumph, and liberty will reign sole Queen of Frenchmen."

M. Robertspierre's speech was warmly applauded.

M. Danton was sure that La Fayette was the chief of the coalition of Nobles, who were planning their country's ruin. He thought it would be prudent to summon him to the Bar of the National Assembly.

M. Fabre d'Eglantine differed in opinion with M. Danton. He believed that La Fayette would come to Paris, in such a case, at the head of his army; it would be his triumph.

M. Camille Desmoulins exclaimed, "How often did I tell you that La Fayette was a d—m—d rascal!"

M. Collot d'Herbois was persuaded that La Fayette wanted to new-model the Constitution, and to introduce Nobility, which he only pretended to make little of.

M. Camille Desmoulins endeavoured to prove the aristocracy of the Minister Dumouriez, by saying, he cohabited with the sister of a declared enemy to the Constitution. He added, that royalty was getting rotten every day, (*la royauté se pourrit tous les jours,*) and advised the people to take their own remedy.

M. Real desired to know why the Constituent Assembly had not decreed a mode of insurrection; but, as that was neglected, he thought the present Legislative Body should make amends for the shameful omission.

M. de St. André said, that the word *insurrection* had nothing unfriendly in it; it was the sudden expression of the general will to change, or modify some articles in the Constitution, which the nation had given itself. He believed it necessary that the people should call a new Constituent Assembly, to revise the imperfect Constitution of France.

M. Daubigny related, that he had dined with several patriot members; that one of the Gentlemen had heard from M. Dumouriez, that La Fayette's letter had intimidated the directory. A courier had been dispatched to M. La Fayette, to induce him not to insist on the letter being presented to the National Assembly. The General, however, persisted in his opinion, and wished the letter to be delivered and read, let what might be the consequence; and at the very moment all his creatures were taken into Administration.

[The Reader will form an idea of this Club, from this specimen of its debates; which we shall continue occasionally, according to their importance, or the explanation they may afford, of the state of public affairs.] June

June 13.

This day the National Assembly received the following

LETTER FROM M. SERVAN, SECRETARY AT WAR.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The love of the public good, and my country, engaged me to accept a place above my strength; but I expected that my tenacity to act with propriety, that my care of standing candidly forward, and selecting honest men to be about me, and uninterruptedly to aim at the State's welfare, would obtain forgiveness for my rashness in entering into that arduous career. Such were my resolves, when I received a royal order to deliver up my commission to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs." [*A part of the Assembly murmured, another groaned, another tittered.*] "I hope that I have not less reason to rely on the goodness of the National Assembly."—["*To be sure, to be sure,*" said some.—"*For what?*" exclaimed others.] "I shall beg the Assembly's leave to go to my duty, as a soldier in the army, when I shall have given up my accounts."—[*Great applause.*]

M. Dufaulx rose, and said, "Alas! you have heard it—we lose M. Servan: You know, every one knows, that nobody did so much good in so little time in the war department; in a few days more the army would have been completely provided for: the activity of that patriotic soldier, who has, ever from his earliest youth, devoted his existence to his country's welfare; our hope rested on his activity: The King was circumvented when he removed this citizen from the ministry. I move, that the Assembly do forthwith certify, by a decree, their esteem for M. Servan." [*Applauded.*]

DECREE.

The National Legislative Assembly of France declare, That M. Servan, on his leaving the ministry, carries with him the regret of the nation; and that this declaration be transmitted to the eighty-three departments. The Assembly allow him to quit Paris when he has given up his accounts to the Committee.

LETTER

LETTER FROM THE KING.

[*A Secretary read it.*]

" I pray you, M. President, to inform the National Assembly, that I have just changed the Secretaries of the War Department, of the Home Department, and the Minister of the Public Contributions. The two first are replaced by Messrs. Dumouriez (late for Foreign Affairs) and Mourges; the third has as yet no successor. The French Minister at Deux Ponts is to succeed M. Dumouriez in the Foreign Department. I will have the Constitution, [*violent murmurs,*] but I will have order too, and execution in every branch of administration: All my efforts shall be directed towards that end.

" LOUIS.

(Counterigned)

" DURANTON."

LETTER FROM AN EX-MINISTER.

" The King ordered me to give up to M. Duranton my commission of Minister of Public Contributions. I leave the ministry, convinced that I did all I was able to do.

" CLAVIERE."

LETTER FROM ANOTHER EX-MINISTER.

" By order of the King, I gave into M. Mourges's hands my commission as Minister of the Home Department. I send the Assembly the letter I wrote last Monday to the King.

" ROLLAND."

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER FROM M. ROLLAND
(LATE MINISTER OF THE HOME DEPARTMENT)
TO THE KING.

" SIRE,

" The present state of affairs in France cannot be of long duration. It is a crisis at its highest degree of violence, and must terminate in a shock that interests your Majesty as much as it does the whole empire. Honoured with your confidence, and placed in a situation in which it behoves me to speak the truth to you, I venture to do it without disguise; it is an obligation

gation under which your Majesty's self has laid me. The French have made themselves a Constitution, and it has produced malcontents and rebels. The majority of the nation approve it, and have sworn to maintain it at the expence of their lives: They have considered the war with satisfaction, as the grand expedient for establishing the Constitution; yet, buoyed up by hopes, the minority have exerted their united efforts against it: Hence arises that intestine conflict with the laws, that anarchy which all good citizens lament, and of which ill-disposed people have not failed to take the advantage, in order to countenance their aspersions against the new government: Hence those opinions which are every where spread abroad, and every where fomented; for in no part is indifference of opinion to be found: Either the triumph or the change of the Constitution is the cry of all; they labour either to maintain or new-model it: I shall only touch upon what the present circumstances of things require, and, with the utmost impartiality, shall suggest an idea of what turn affairs may be expected to take, and what measures would be prudent to adopt.

“ You enjoyed, Sire, great prerogatives, and which, indeed, your Majesty conceived to be inherent to royalty. Bred up under the idea of preserving these prerogatives, you could not see yourself deprived of them with satisfaction. The desire of recovering them was as natural as the regret you felt at their dissolution. These sentiments, which are natural to the human heart, have had their proper influence on the minds of the anti-revolutionists.

“ They have, therefore, depended upon being secretly favoured by your Majesty, until circumstances permitted an open declaration in their behalf. This posture of things could not but have been evident to the whole nation; and it was sufficient to set men upon their guard. Your Majesty has then been ever under the necessity of either yielding to the force of habit, and to particular inclination, or to make sacrifices dictated by philosophy, and called for by necessity.

“ Every thing has its term of duration, and that of uncertainty has at length arrived. Can your Majesty openly ally yourself with the pretended reformers of the Constitution? or is it incumbent upon you generously to give yourself entirely up to promote its triumph? Such is the true statement of a question, the solution of which the present state of things renders of inevitable necessity.

“ As to the metaphysical query, ‘Whether the French are ripe for liberty?’ it is foreign from the subject before us; for it is not our business to consider what we should become in a

century hence, but to see what the present generation are capable of.

“ In the midst of the fomentations of the four last years, what has taken place? Privileges burdensome to the lower order of the community have been abolished; the ideas of justice and equality have been universally spread abroad; they have found their way every where. The acknowledgment of the rights of the people, which has been solemnly allowed, is become a sacred doctrine in politics. The hatred against the nobles has been long since inspired by the nature of the feudal system; it is now increased and exasperated by the manifest opposition of them to the Constitution. The people considered these nobles in an odious light, on account of the oppressive privileges they enjoyed; but they would have forgot their hatred on the abolition of these privileges, if the conduct of the nobility since that period had not given every reason for men to consider their rank with distrust, and to oppose it as an irreconcilable enemy to their well-being.

“ The public attachment to the Constitution increased in like proportion: The people not only derived essential advantages from it, but were persuaded still greater benefits were preparing for them, since those who were accustomed to oppress them were endeavouring with such earnestness to destroy or to modify it. The declaration of rights is become a political gospel, and the French Constitution a religion; in the defence of which, the people are ready to perish. Thus their zeal sometimes went so far as to supply the place of law; which, when its influence was not sufficient to restrain the disturbers of the public peace, the citizens took upon themselves the task of punishing them. 'Tis thus the possessions of the emigrants have been exposed to the ravages incited by vengeance. Thus so many departments were under the necessity of severely treating the clergy whom the public opinion had proscribed, and of whom some would have been victims to its resentment. In the collision of interests, every sentiment assumed the tone of passion. Our country is not a mere word, created by warmth of imagination; it is a being to which we offer sacrifice, to which we are the more attached by the very solicitude it brings upon us, that which we love on account of the benefits we hope to derive from it; and every injury offered to our country proves the means of increasing our enthusiasm.

“ To what a height did this enthusiasm rise, when the machinations of foreign enemies were added to those of the domestic foe, in order to perpetrate all that could be conceived wicked and fatal? The fermentation is extreme in the various parts of the empire; it will burst upon us with a dreadful explosion;

plasion, unless it be calmed by reasonable confidence in your Majesty's intentions: But this confidence will not be established by mere promises and protestations, it can only rest upon facts. The French nation know their Constitution can sustain itself, that government will have all necessary aid, whenever your Majesty, wishing well to the Constitution, shall support the Legislative Body, by causing their decrees to be executed, and do away every pretext for popular dissatisfaction, and every hope of the malcontents.

"For instance, two important decrees have been issued; both essentially concern public tranquillity and the welfare of the empire: their not being sanctioned gives birth to mistrust; if it be put off, it will create malcontents; and it is my duty to say, in the present effervescence of the people's minds, discontent may lead to any thing. It is no longer time to recede;—it is no longer time to temporize. The Revolution is established in the public mind; it will be completed by the effusion of blood, if wisdom do not guard against evils which can yet be warded off.

"If force were recurred to in order to restrain the National Assembly—if terror were spread through Paris, disunion and consternation in its vicinity, universal France would rise with indignation; and, distracted by the horrors of a civil war, she would display that gloomy energy, the parent of virtues and crimes, ever fatal to those who provoke it. Public safety and your Majesty's individual happiness are closely linked, no power can divide them; distresses and certain misfortune will gather round your throne, if it do not rest, through yourself, on the basis of the Constitution, and be established on peace, which the maintainance should at length produce in our favour. Thus the state of the public mind, the circumstances, political reasons, your Majesty's own interest, render it indispensable for you to join the Legislative Body, and to concur in the nation's will. The nation considers as a necessity what principles point out as a duty; but the natural sensibility of this fond people holds out another motive. You were cruelly deceived, Sire, when wicked men endeavoured to excite uneasiness and mistrust in your breast, injurious to this kind people, this people so easily affected.

"By being perpetually taught not to confide in the nation, your own conduct alarmed them. Let the people see that you are willing the Constitution should take its course, the Constitution to which they have united their happiness, and you will soon become the object of thanks.

"The conduct of the clergy in many parts of the kingdom, the pretexts they furnish for commotions, have occasioned a

wise law to be enacted against those disturbers of the peace. Let your Majesty's sanction be given to it. The public tranquillity and the safety of the clergy solicit it. If this law be not put in force, the departments will be obliged to substitute severe measures, as they have every where done, and the people will supply its place by violence.

"The attempts of our enemies, the fermentations in the capital, the extreme disquietude arising from the conduct of your guard, and which the testimonies of satisfaction given to that body contained in your proclamation (a measure truly impolitic under such circumstances,) still keep up the situation of Paris; its proximity to the frontiers, all contribute to shew the necessity of a camp in its neighbourhood. This measure, the wisdom and urgency of which are allowed by thinking men, waits only for the sanction of your Majesty. Why should delay create an appearance of regret on the part of your Majesty, when dispatches would deserve gratitude on ours? Already have the machinations of the *Etat-Major* of the Parisian national guards against this measure caused men to suspect that they act under superior influence—already the clamours of certain outrageous demagogues raise suspicion; already the public opinion exposes the intentions of your Majesty.

"A little more delay, and the afflicted people will imagine they perceive in their King the friend and the accomplice of conspirators. Good Heaven! are the powers of the earth stricken with blindness! and will they never attend to any counsels but such as lead them on to ruin!—I am aware that the language of truth is seldom well received in Courts;—I am likewise sensible, that, as her voice is hardly ever heard there, revolutions become necessary.—Above all, I know that I ought to speak the truth to your Majesty, not only as a citizen, subject to the laws, but as a Minister honoured with your confidence, or invested with functions that imply it; nor do I know what can hinder me from fulfilling a duty which I feel to be incumbent on me! With the same intentions, I shall reiterate my observations to your Majesty on the utility and necessity of executing the law, which prescribes that there should be a Secretary of Council. The law speaks so powerfully, that the execution of it should immediately follow.

"It is necessary, for the sake of responsible Ministers, to use means to establish sedateness, wisdom, and caution, in the deliberations of Council."

M. M. Quinette and La Source asked and obtained for M. M. Rolland and Claviere an honourable declaration, such as M. Servan had been favoured with.

June 13 continued.

M. Dumourier entered the Hall, and said, he had received the following letter from M. La Fayette :

GENERAL LA FAYETTE'S LETTER.

" The Austrians attacked our camp with superior numbers : they were, however, repulsed ; for we had previous intelligence of the projected on-set. M. Gouvion commenced the battle, and was valiantly seconded by Messrs. Narbonne and Maubourg. The enemy gave way : Their loss was more considerable than ours ; We pursued them more than a league beyond the field of battle. We should have reason to rejoice at this affair, if, by a cruel fatality, we had not lost—[*A profound silence.*] a brave defender of his country, and to all good citizens a friend—M. Gouvion !"

The Minister was interrupted—[*Signs of consternation was visible on all sides : After a mournful silence*]

M. Dumourier continued :—" His soldiers weep for him ; the Parisian national guards will weep for him ; all good citizens will mourn for him. A cannon-shot put an end to his honourable existence.

" We have also to regret the two Lieutenant-Colonels of the Cote-d'Or. Such is the exact recital of the affair that has taken place.

" I shall say nothing of my own affliction ; my friends will pity me. We have lost five-and-twenty men : The enemy had a greater number killed. We took some prisoners ; but none were taken from us.

(Signed)

" LA FAYETTE, Gen."

M. Pastoret.—You have heard, said he, that M. Gouvion is lamented ; he is particularly so by all those who have seen him, since the 14th of July, 1789, devoting himself to the safety of his country. I move, that the Committee of Public Instruction do present to you a report on the honours due to his memory. [*Applauded.*] Decreed,

M. Dumas.—" M. Gouvion's father has seen both his sons bleed and die fighting their country's battles : (One was killed at the unfortunate affair of Nancy.) I move, That the President write to the sorrowful parent, to inform him that the Assembly sympathize with him on the sad occasion,"—Decreed *nem. con.*

M. Du-

M. Dumourier then reported the state of the French armed force, the fortifications, provisions, &c. he saw nothing but negligence, weakness, and disorder.

PARIS, *Monday, June 18.*

The new ministers are Messrs. Lajard in the War Department, and Chambonas for Foreign Affairs; M. Dormesson, Keeper of the Seals; and M. Amelot, for the Home Department.

M. Dumourier wrote the following lines to the King last Saturday, at eleven o'clock at night:—"Your Majesty will either sanction the decree relative to the camp, and that respecting the feudal rights, or I shall resign!"—The King answered, that he would assemble his Council the next day. The Council, composed of four Ministers, was called; the gates of the palace were kept shut; the guard was doubled, and nothing was decided. As for the decree on the Non-juring Clergy, the King told his physician, M. Vicq-d'Azir, that if he felt the axe on his neck, he would not sanction it.

At a meeting of the Commons last Saturday, a deputation from the inhabitants of the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine, and St. Marceau attended, and informed them that they were determined to go to the National Assembly next Wednesday, with the cloaths and arms they had in 1789, in order to make a tender once more of their homage and their arms; to renew the oaths taken in the Tennis-Court at Versailles; to plant the tree of liberty on the terrace of the Feuillans—then go to the King; and lay before him the state of public affairs.

LETTER FROM M. DUMOURIER.

Paris, June 19th, 4th year of Liberty.

"The King having accepted of my resignation as Minister at war, I intreat the Assembly to permit me to return to my post as Lieutenant-General in the army of the North. I have sent my accounts as Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Diplomatic Committee. That Committee will, I hope, do justice to my probity and œconomy. During the short time I was Minister at War, I directed no measures, and signed no orders; I am, consequently, subject to no responsibility in that department. As for my public conduct, I have been watchful to maintain the Constitution, and have always considered whatever tended to weaken it as a crime. The Assembly has

has appointed a Commission to examine the Memoire which I had the courage to write. If it had been heard at a calmer period, it would have been seen that it contained no personalities; that along with the evil, I pointed out the remedy; and that I was far from despairing of the public weal. I can number thirty-six years of service, military and diplomatic, and twenty-two wounds. I envy the fate of the virtuous Gouvion, and shall think myself most happy if a cannon-ball unite all opinions respecting me.

(Signed)

“DUMOURIER.”

The Assembly decreed that he might repair to his post in the army of the North.

M. de Mourgues, who for one day was Minister of the Home department, addressed the following letter to the Assembly:

“I have signed nothing during my short Ministry, so that I have no account to render. As to my moral and constitutional responsibility, I present myself to the Assembly with the confidence of a man who has always studied the approbation of his own heart, and been ambitious to merit the esteem of his fellow citizens.

(Signed)

“MOURGUES.”

PARIS, *June 19.*

A FETE IN HONOUR OF LIBERTY.

The officers of the National Guards and battalion of St. André-des-Arts, being this day on duty at the National Assembly, requested and obtained leave to march through the House, and after to plant the tree of liberty at the door: Immediately the pioneers of the battalion appeared in the van, and warlike music began to strike up. The volunteers were preceded by a group of portly men and comely females, some bearing thyrses with inter-woven leaves, others pikes ornamented with three-coloured pennants. In the midst of the group of free citizens was a pike, from which a red woollen-cap hung:—many of the women had their infants in their arms.—The battalion stepped forward with martial dignity, and one of them spoke nearly thus at the bar:—“Legislators, the volunteers of this battalion offer you their most respectful homage: They mean to set the favoured tree of liberty at the door of the Hall; deign to applaud the innocent sacrifice we offer to the divinity of Frenchmen: Deign to assist at the apotheosis of a cap, the lustre of which far surpasses that of a crown.—The tree we set up brings back grateful remembrance:

brance: It is an Italian poplar, it comes from the country of the Gracchi—from the land of Valerius Publicola—from the spot on which Cato inhaled his first breath. This tree is sacred to Liberty; it is its fate to flourish from one pole to the other. May our sons one day, under the shade of the tree we plant, relate with enthusiastic joy the exploits of their fathers, and the grand æra of the Revolution." [*Plaudits, universal plaudits, frequently interrupted his speech.*]

The music played on:—Every tone was expressive of patriotism:—A group of both sexes and all ages closed the march.

The Assembly, after having testified their high satisfaction, resumed the business of the State.

The President announced a letter from M. La Morliere, commander of the army on the Rhine.

THE LETTER.

"M. PRESIDENT,

"I have the honour of transmitting you a copy of a letter written to me by M. Servan, Secretary at War; with my answer.—"I have every day fresh proofs of the counteracting plots, entered into by wicked men, for the destruction of liberty.—The interest of the state requires that the Secretary at War be obliged to declare the names of the informers who have deceived him. Such is the request of an old soldier, who has borne arms seventy years for his country's sake, and who desires to devote the remainder of his existence to the same purpose.

(Signed) "LA MORLIERE."

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY AT WAR TO M. LA MORLIERE.

"It is impossible not to be uneasy and astonished at what takes place in the army under your command:—Different people give me information of the whole. It is said your orders are not obeyed, and that those who are about you are not friendly to the grand cause; that at Strasburgh the fermentation is great, and the service of the garrison is neglected; that the soldiers patrol without cartridges; that the arms of an entire battalion have been changed, the gates of the citadel left open the whole night, and that emigrants were suffered to get into the place; that M. Toulouse Lautrec, an emigrant, had been seen there; that an Austrian trumpeter was introduced

duced into the city without any precaution, and that the camp near the town is ill-situated."

The Minister then recommends M. La Morliere to issue the most rigid orders for restoring subordination and discipline: He concludes with telling him that he waits with impatience to put himself under General Luckner's command, as being more conformable to his wishes and situation, as soon as M. de Biron could take the command of the army on the Rhine.

M. LA MORLIERE'S ANSWER.

"SIR,

"I can scarcely believe that the letter I have just received is from you. It seemed impossible to me that a Minister could arraign my conduct so forcibly, without bringing forward even a single proof. I send you a memorial that answers every article of the accusations contained in your letter. You will perceive, Sir, that neither those in whom I confide, nor my staff-officers, deceive me: They have all previously obtained General Luckner's confidence; they are entitled to mine; they are out of the reach of vague report. During the course of my long life I have been able to escape dishonour, and I shall go with a clear character to the grave.

"I know what my duty is, and I shall fulfil it; but when the Secretary at War speaks to me of a successor, and loads me with reproaches, he exposes himself in a very unbecoming manner; he commits an injustice which I denounce to the National Assembly, to the King, and to all Frenchmen.

(Signed)

"LA MORLIERE."

M. VICTOR BROGLIO, TO THE SECRETARY AT WAR.

"SIR,

"You have heaped blame on those who enjoy the confidence of M. La Morliere. You have accused the staff-officers of the army he commands. I am at the head of the staff; the charge is, therefore, directed to me. My past life, the confidence of the Generals, my conduct during the revolution, should seem secure from such vague imputations. I request you then to be explicit as to the object of your reproaches. Be your answer what it may, I am obstinately resolved not to quit my post. The self-evident design of discouraging and dismissing faithful citizens only tends to confirm my resolution.

(Signed)

"V. BROGLIO."

A a

M. Condorcet

M. Condorcet reminded the House of the annihilation of nobility, which the representatives of a free people, in their wisdom, voted away. To-day, said the learned Gentleman, reason lights up, at the foot of Louis XIVth's statue, six hundred folio volumes, vain and insolent monuments of a privileged order of men whose chimerical will vanish in smoke. He informed the Assembly that the pedigrees of the nobility were to be publicly burnt on La Place Vendome: He was convinced there were other parchments elsewhere, which he also wished to be committed to the flames.—[*The Assembly, as if animated with the same soul, rose and applauded.*] Decreed, and they were all burnt.

The son of the unfortunate Calas, who expired on the scaffold, the innocent victim of the most atrocious fanaticism, came to the bar.

The horrid sentence passed on his guiltless father had dispersed the whole family: He had wandered far from his native country, and, every where lamenting his hard fate, had dragged on a miserable existence.

The reign of Freedom restored him to his country, but not to the fortune which wicked men had wrested from him:—He solicited at the hands of his countrymen, his brothers, relief and justice;—they knew his misfortunes; he was persuaded they would alleviate them. A pension was allowed him.

TUESDAY, June 19, continued.

On Monday, the 18th of June, the Jacobins declared their sittings permanent. Nothing could equal their resentment to M. La Fayette. Some proposed that he should be sent to Orleans to take his trial as a traitor; others proposed that a decree should be passed declaring him to be the enemy of France, and that consequently every citizen had a right to kill him; and it was finally proposed, that the National Legislative Assembly should be declared an *Assemblée Constituante*.

These propositions, however, expired in fume; but while some members of the club were vapouring in this way, the leaders were forming a design to raise the multitude of Faubourgs St. Antoine and Marceau, and bring them up in force to the Court, the National Guard, the Directory, &c.

Accordingly a deputation of the leading people in these districts presented themselves to the Assembly of the Commons of Paris, (answering to the Common Hall in London,) and there they informed them of a design which they had to repair on Wednesday the 20th, in the dress and with the same arms which

which they wore in 1789, to the National Assembly, to offer them their courage, and to renew the oath of the *Jeu de Paume*, (the oath taken in the Tennis Court of Versailles on the 20th June, 1789, the first great epoch of the Revolution) to plant the tree of liberty on the terrace of the Feuillans, (the terrace in the gardens of Tuilleries next to the Assembly) *and then to repair to the King, to paint to him the horrid state in which his good friends had plunged the affairs of the nation.* Notice of the design was sent to the Directory, and they took every possible precaution to guard against the expected torrent: In particular they directed that every citizen should arm himself, and inscribe his name, as being ready to act to maintain his peace. So alarming is the prospect of to-morrow, that his Majesty is said to have made his will, in which he begins with these words—"As I have reason to apprehend each day that I shall be assassinated, &c."

WEDNESDAY, *June 20.*

This was a memorable day. It is scarcely possible to form an idea of a position more interesting than that which the city of Paris this day exhibited. According to the orders of the Directory, the National Guards and the Troops of the Line posted with their artillery at every avenue leading to the palace and to the Assembly.

At twelve o'clock at noon the Department of Paris appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and informed them that a multitude, to the amount of 100,000 persons of both sexes, armed in all ways, with pikes, swords, musquets, and even with artillery, were actually embodied, and were coming towards the Tuilleries.

The Assembly was moved that sixty Members should go up to the palace, and surround their Majesties' persons, to exert themselves for their safety during this tempest; but the measure was not adopted.

Paris at this moment appeared like a grove, for it was the new test of patriotism to wear a branch of May in the hat, and every house was decorated with branches.

The column of people, armed with pikes and other weapons, and with ten or twelve pieces of cannon, arrived at the Assembly, and were admitted. They marched through the body of the Assembly renewing their oath, and from thence they went to the Caroussel, in the front of the Palace. A considerable force protected the Tuilleries, which would certainly have been able to triumph at the expence of many lives over the armed multitude. But respect for the lives of their fellow-citizens induced Government to forbear, and at four o'clock in

the afternoon the gates of the Thuilleries were thrown open. The multitude precipitated into the Palace, and in an instant filled all the principal apartments. They presented to the King the red bonnet of Liberty, which he cheerfully put on, and the Queen distributed ribbands and May branches with a condescension that drew from the multitude the utmost respect. This scene continued till nine o'clock at night, and during the five hours this tumultuous procession lasted, not less than 40,000 armed men, women, and children, passed through the royal apartments. The Assembly had reports made to them at intervals, and at length the Mayor of Paris succeeded in clearing the Castle. In all this confusion, though so many of the lowest and most indigent persons in Paris were in the Palace, and that every room was traversed, the most trifling article was not removed from its place.

The night passed very quietly; but at the Jacobins evening sitting, on the 20th of June, the following speech was made by one of the Members. He said that he had just come from the Palace: He saw the King standing at a window with a red cap on his head. The people desired him to address him in their name. The King had four National Guards about him, and some Members of the Assembly. The people cried out, "Down with the Veto, down with it; sanction the Decrees; Vive la Nation!" The King was drinking out of a bottle to the Nation's health; he had a little bell in his hand which he rang from time to time to obtain silence; but in vain. He said he loved the Constitution. The people exclaimed, it was *false*! That he had deceived them once, and would again. He, the Jacobin Minister, went up to the King, and said, "Sire, your conduct has excited the people against you; wishing to ruin them, you only ruin yourself. Your foes are not in Paris, they are at Coblenz; for, though you desire to be with them, know, that if they had you in their power, they would murder you; whereas the people of Paris only wish you happy; for, I repeat it, the people would be glad to love you. They are ripe for revolution, and will have the Constitution take its course: We shall die to maintain it, but you shall die with us." M. Petion was rather surprised to hear him deliver his sentiments with such energy. The King opened his mouth, said he, and looking at him with his great staring eyes, he answered, that he would never swerve from the Constitution. The Jacobin said, he did not believe him, and told him to take care of himself.

THURSDAY, June 21.

The immense cavalcade which yesterday distinguished the anniversary of the *serment du jeu de Paume*, so outraged all order and law in Paris, was as diversified in its appearance, as it was horrid in its design.

Every groupe had flags with inscriptions suitable to their particular character and their purpose.—The conquerors of the Bastile had the standard which they took on that memorable day. Between the Battalions of the two Fauxbourg there was a banner with this inscription,

*“ Tyrans, tremblez, ou soyez Justes,
et respectez la Liberté des Peuples.”*

On another ensign were these words:

*“ Nous ne voulons que l'union
la paix, la Liberté.”*

On another flag, carried before an innumerable body of citizens,

*“ Louis le peuple est las de souffrir :
il demande sa Liberté entière
la vouloir, . . ou mourir.”*

French gaiety, even in this shocking scene, did not lose its usual pretensions. Before an immense groupe of ragged boys was carried on a pole a pair of old black breeches, with this inscription :

“ Libres . . . et sans culottes ;”

On the other side,

“ Nous en conservons au moins les lambeaux.”

A groupe of women had a *spit* carried before them, with a pig's fry, all except the liver and the heart, and on a bandeau above it were these words :

*“ Ils n'ont ni foi ni cœur,
ils n'ont que du mou.”*

And

And many other inscriptions of a similar tendency, marked every party of this multitude.

LETTER FROM THE KING.

"The National Assembly is already apprized of the events of yesterday. No doubt Paris is full of consternation. I leave to the prudence of the Assembly the management of the Constitution, and also the individual liberty of the hereditary Representative of the people.

"France, will, with grief, learn what has happened. As to me, nothing shall hinder me from steadily pursuing, without the least distrust, the views which are directed by the Constitution, which I have sworn to maintain, and to obtain those ends which it prescribes.

(Signed)

"LOUIS."

The Minister of the Home Department requested and obtained leave to address the House.

He left on the table all the documents of his correspondence relative to the business of the preceding day: He entered into the details of what he had witnessed himself, and said, "The palace gates having been broke open, I went up to the King—I found him almost alone:—In an instant the door of his apartment was assailed with hatchets: The King ordered it to be thrown open, and placed himself near a window: The crowd pressed into the apartment, but the King was encircled by National Guards, and protected from all danger; for there might have been in the crowd some wretch capable of perpetrating a crime which would have caused the whole nation to mourn—[*murmurs*].—Yes, gentlemen, I entertain too great a respect for my fellow-citizens, to think they would not lament if such a crime had been perpetrated—[*plaudits*].—Report committed.

ROYAL PROCLAMATION

CONCERNING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE 20TH
OF JUNE.

"The nation must have heard with concern, that a mistaken multitude, led astray by factious people, resorted under arms to the residence of the King; brought artillery into the guard-room of the Palace; broke open with axes the doors of his apartments;

apartments; and, under the pretended name of the Nation, endeavoured to extort his Majesty's sanction to two Decrees, which he had constitutionally refused to give.

"The King made no opposition to threats and insults, but the consciousness of his good intentions and love for the public welfare.

"The King is ignorant how far those measures will be carried; but it is necessary he should assure the French nation, that violence, to whatever height it may be exerted, shall never extort his consent to what he believes will prove detrimental to the public interest.

"He exposes without regret his peace, his safety; he sacrifices even the enjoyment of rights belonging in common to all men; and which the law should maintain for him, as for all other citizens: But as the Hereditary representative of the French Nation, he has obligations of a severer nature to fulfil; and, although he make a sacrifice of his repose, he will not of his duty.

"If those who wish to overthrow the Monarchy are desirous of committing another crime, they may commit it. In the present crisis of affairs, the King, to his last breath is determined to afford the constituted authorities an example of courage and firmness, that alone can save the empire. In consequence of which, he orders the Administrative bodies, and the Municipalities, to watch over the safety of persons and property.

"Done at Paris, 22d June, 1792, the 4th Year of Liberty.
(Signed) "LOUIS.

And underneath, "TERNIER."

PROCLAMATION

OF THE MAYOR AND MUNICIPAL OFFICERS OF THE
CITY OF PARIS.

"CITIZENS,

"Preserve the peace, and your own dignity.

"Beware of the snares that are laid for you. Attempts are made to create division between the armed and unarmed Citizens.

"Protect with your arms the King and the Constitution. Let his person be respected, and his asylum sacred. Respect, and cause to be respected, the National Assembly, and the majesty of the Representatives of a free people.

"Do

“ Do not assemble together under arms. The Law prohibits it ; and that law has been just renewed.

“ In the most unoffensive assemblage of the people are always to be found ill-disposed persons.

“ The Law reprobates all violence ; and you have invested the Magistrates with the execution of the Law.

“ Shew yourselves worthy of Liberty, and remember that the first of all people are those who are most devoted to their Laws.

(Signed)

“ PETION, Mayor.

“ DESSLY, Sec. Legislator.”

ARMY OF THE NORTH.

LETTER FROM MARECHAL LUCKNER TO THE MINISTER AT WAR,

Menin, June 17, 1792.

“ I hasten to have the honour of informing you of my entry into Menin this morning. The town was occupied by about fifty Austrians, who, upon the approach of my advanced guard, evacuated it, but some were killed by our out-riders. I have occupied Menin with my advanced guard ; but the main body of the army is encamped near Warwick. The reports made to me as to the position of the enemy, are very various, for they do not remain long in one place.

(Signed)

“ LUCKNER.”

LETTER THE SECOND.

Menin, June 18, 1792.

“ I, yesterday, left my advanced guard at Menin, and in the environs ; this morning I set out from Warwick with the remainder of my army, which was reinforced, upon the road, by the junction of the camp of Dunkirk, consisting of 5000 national guards. The army is encamped at Menin, and I am about to lead my advanced guard to Courtray ; upon this point, I hope to make a grand manœuvre ; I shall be careful to inform you immediately of the consequence of my conduct ; the enemy is in force within an entrenchment, fortified with cannon.

“ My army begins to organize itself according to its wants ; but one essential object afflicts me, it is the slowness with which discipline is maintained in the regiments, notwithstanding all the care and severity which I use to preserve it.

(Signed)

“ LUCKNER.”

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE ETAT-MAJOR OF
THE ARMY OF THE NORTH.

“ On the 18th, the advanced guard, composed of one battalion of grenadiers, and of nine squadrons, received orders to proceed towards Courtray, to the village of Nelwelghen. The Marechal having learned that the enemy occupied the village, and were entrenched near several parts of the road, ordered the troops under the orders of M. de Jarry, commanding the advanced guard, to be reinforced by three battalions of grenadiers of the reserve.

“ These three battalions, commanded by M. Valence, Camp Marechal, marched in columns, pursuing the high road, while the hussars, horse chasseurs, and a battalion of grenadiers, turned the enemy's right, at the height of the village of Nederbech. The fusileers of the left column, commanded by M. de Jarry, attacked the enemy, entrenched upon the bridge. Several cannon-shot, and a warm fire of musquetry, did but little harm on either side. At the same time the right column, composed of three battalions of grenadiers, proceeded and attacked the first entrenchment with firmness, bravery, and good order.

“ The enemy then retired behind a second entrenchment, and into a redoubt, formed round a mill with *chevaux de frize*. They were about 800, and preserved a good countenance. They were attacked with vigour, and, seeing themselves turned by the right column, with which the Marechal had been ever since the commencement of the affair, they retired into the town, from whence they marched partly by the route of Bruges, and partly by that of Tournay. One piece of cannon and two prisoners were taken. The troops entered the town in the best order, the Flemish inhabitants shouting, ‘ *Vive la Nation, vive les Français.*’ It was then half past seven o'clock.

“ The posts were immediately occupied, and the advanced guard and the reserve, composed of four battalions and nine squadrons, remained at Courtray. The French had one man killed, and thirteen wounded. The loss of the enemy is not known.

“ M. d'Orleans, French Prince, his sons, and the Generals Biron, Burnonville, and Berthier, accompanied the Marechal, who directed the attack, and the movements made by Camp Marechals Valence and De Jarry.

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" Too much praise cannot be given to the troops, whose conduct was in every respect worthy the character of a free people.

" ALEX. BERTHIER.

" *Camp Marechal and Chief of the Etat-Major of the army of the North.*"

These are the more formal communications from the army of the North; but, on the evening of June 20, the President of the National Assembly announced the important fact—" That the Marechal Luckner had taken Courtray."

LISLE, June 17.

" Yesterday, the Austrians encamped upon the road from Lisle to Tournay, at half a league from the latter town; they were in number 7000. M. de la Fayette holds the city of Mons in fear, and can carry it in an instant, if the Austrians move in force towards Flanders, to oppose the army of Luckner."

LETTER FROM MARESCHAL LUCKNER.

Menin, June 18.—11 at night.

" I am just returned from the affair of Courtray.—I had dispatched Generals Valence and Jarry with my van; they had orders to advance towards Courtray. I went this morning to observe their position:—I found it so excellent, and, as they were so near that place, although I had resolved not to attack sooner than to-morrow, I was now determined *to strike the iron while it was hot*; and I began the onset with the van-guard of the army. The enemy had between eight and nine hundred men in a triple entrenchment before the town: I ordered General Valence to attack their front, and M. Jarry to fall upon their flank. There was a smart cannonade, and the attack lasted three hours. It is my duty to declare that the men behaved with great propriety. The two Generals gave evident proofs not only of valour, but of ability. We beat the enemy from the entrenchment: They left a cannon behind them, and we took three prisoners; lost one man, and had twelve wounded. The enemy's loss is greater, but we shall know that to-morrow morning, and I shall send you further particulars. We entered Courtray, and the people received our troops with the greatest joy, I expect every thing from the good dispositions of the army.

(Signed)

" LUCKNER."

June

June 22.

This day the War Minister delivered to the Assembly the following

LETTER FROM THE KING.

" I request of you, M. the President, to inform the Assembly, that an account having been given me by the War Minister of the state of the armies, I have judged it expedient, as the *corps de reserve* of the battalions of volunteers between the capital and the frontiers is now destroyed by the junction of these battalions to the three armies, that a new one should be formed.

" I therefore propose to the Assembly the levying of forty-two new battalions of volunteers, in the proportion of a battalion for each department. When the Assembly shall have decreed the raising of these troops, I shall give orders to have this *corps de reserve* so placed as to cover the capital, and, if necessary, to unite itself with the armies.

(Signed)

" LOUIS.

(Countersigned)

" LAJARRE."

The War Minister proceeded to inform the Assembly, that he was preparing for the Legislative Body the statement he had presented to the King. He promised the utmost activity in the raising of these 34,000 men demanded by the King, and in making the necessary provision for the army. He concluded, by demanding that the above levying should be decreed on the footing on which the former battalions were raised; and delivered to the Assembly the following

LETTER FROM MARESCHAL LA FAYETTE.

Camp at Tenieres, June 20.

" I have put my army into motion to keep the enemy employed, so as to create a diversion in favour of the army of Marechal Luckner.

" The enemy have followed my motions, and the two armies are very near. The patrols meet, and are continually firing at each other.

" The information I have obtained on the action of the 11th instant, convinces me that more of our men have been killed

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than

than we at first thought. The reason is, that the detachment was shot at through thick hedges, so that, at the first moment, we could not ascertain the effect of the enemy's fire. Thirty-six of our men have been carried to the hospital. The battalion of Cote-d'Or suffered most. The loss of the enemy, must, however, have been more considerable than ours.

(Signed)

"LA FAYETTE."

PARIS, *June 25.*

The arts of both parties are exerted to the utmost to turn the proceedings of June 20 to account, and the most vehement exaggerations on both sides fill the Journals.

On the 23d, the following paper was circulated throughout the city of Paris.

INSTRUCTION TO THE CITIZENS OF PARIS, BY THE DEPARTMENT.

"Citizens—secret enemies of the public weal mingled among you, wish to make you serve their purposes.

"Our enemies have need of having the King out of the kingdom. They dare not carry him off—they wish, therefore, that you should force him to fly.

"They know that almost all the powers of Europe, assured of the King's personal liberty, refuse to unite with the King of Hungary to make war on us; and they are solicitous, at least, to make these Kings believe that his Majesty is not free, in order that they may draw them into the league against us.

"They know that the popular magistrates are charged to guarantee, in the midst of us, respect for the laws, and they hope to destroy and vilify these magistrates, by placing them between the necessity of extreme rigour, or the opprobrium of inactivity in the presence of crimes.

"They know that all enlightened citizens, who understand the Constitution, are devoted to its defence, and they desire to separate them and the Constitution from the uninformed multitude—nay, they wish even to bring them to a trial of strength the one with the other, and to light up a civil war.

"In fine, they know that the cause of liberty, which is the cause of equality, cannot be better defended in the eyes of other nations, than by the wisdom and dignity of the French people, and they wish to dishonour a part of that people by exciting
mobs,

mobs, in which they may dexterously mingle themselves to accomplish their ends.

“ They wish to make you demand from the King the revocation of the *veto*, which he has pronounced on two decrees; and you do not see, that, if the King had yielded to the demand of armed thousands assembled, and threatening him in his palace, he would thereby have declared to all Europe that he was not free.

“ They force you to penetrate into his dwelling, which is surely not less sacred than each of your own. They tell you the doors are not shut against us, and they break them open before your eyes; they tell you the King shall be respected, and you believe them, because you feel for his Majesty in your hearts, but yet, in your presence, they offend and outrage him.

“ They strive to make you believe, that the sovereignty which belongs to the entire French people, is the particular property of the Fauxbourg which they excite, and of the groups which assemble round them. They assure you, that the Constituted Powers ought to humble, and that they shall humble before you. Citizens, this language is a snare; our enemies know well that the Magistrates, constituted by the people at large, and appointed by the Citizens, cannot yield to illegal crowds; and the traitors hope, that, in the midst even of an irritated people, they may, with impunity, strike mortal blows at the Magistrates of the People.

“ They dare to tell you also, that you are all the national force, such as it exerted in 1789, and that nothing can resist you—Citizens, this is another snare. In 1789, there burst forth an insurrection—a powerful insurrection, because it was general, and because it spread over all the empire—an holy insurrection, because it was directed against oppression, because there existed no powers constituted by the people, nor conferred either by themselves or their representatives. At this day every thing is changed. There can now arise nothing but seditions, tumults, and revolts, punishable by the laws, and easy to be repressed. And why? Because we have a Constitution—because every Frenchman has sworn to it—because it is just that he should keep his engagements—because the great majority will always be faithful to their oath—and because they are determined to punish the factious.

“ These factious tell you, that the Constitution is bad, and that it must be changed on the instant, without having given it a trial, and without the forms prescribed by the Constitution itself—the army at Coblenz does not say any thing else! Citizens, every thing which tends to destroy the Constitution tends to a counter-revolution. Liberty is destroyed if the nation shall

concert with intestine factions, the same as if it concerted with our external enemies.

" Citizens, these external enemies menace our frontiers; their force is formidable—the union and the exercise of our's is necessary—peace must reign among ourselves, if we wish to have energy against them. It is upon them that, without distraction, we must fix our eyes and turn our arms; it is to the frontiers, it is under the standard that flies in the midst of our armies, that we ought all to hasten, and rally like brothers, to defend the cause of freedom against tyranny.

" Given in the Council of the Department of Paris, the 23d June, the 4th year of Liberty.

(Signed) " LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, President.
" BLONDEL, Secretary."

ADDRESS FROM THE WAR MINISTER, TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, ON THE 25TH OF JUNE.

" You have learned with pleasure the success of our arms in the Netherlands, the continuance of which ought to be secured by every measure the executive power can take. The King is of opinion, that it is impossible to subject the plans of the campaign to the deliberations of the Cabinet, and we have already had a melancholy proof of the inefficacy of this system.

" His Majesty has therefore charged me to demand for Marechal Luckner, that, ' fully confiding in his zeal and prudence, a *carte blanche* be allowed him in the progress of the campaign already commenced, he at the same time concerting measures with M. La Fayette, as far as the proximity of the two armies may render this concert practicable.' The King has, in addition, charged his ministers to give the generals all the political information they may need.

(Signed) " LAJARD."

PARIS, June 26.

Yesterday, the day of so much threatened violence and tumult, passed without disturbance. Great numbers of the National Guards were out, during the whole day; and it was known, that the populace would be resisted if they again endeavoured to enter the palace,

THE COUNCIL OF THE DEPARTMENT AND M. PETION.

M. Petion has just addressed the following letter to the Council of the Department of Paris :

" I have received, this moment, Gentlemen, a Decree, which you have passed, and by which you say, ' the events of the 20th of June might have been prevented, if the existing laws, and that especially which relates to the public force, had been better known to the citizens, and better observed by the public functionaries charged with their immediate execution.'

" This accusation of the public functionaries, that is to say, of the Mayor and Municipal Officers, is extremely heavy. It tends to debase them, and to deprive them of a confidence, without which they can no longer serve the public interest.

" I invite you then in my own separate name, to prosecute in a free and direct manner the Mayor of Paris, if he has failed in his duties. There is a peremptory obligation upon you to do so; the law commands it; and without doubt, you love the law too well not to obey it.

" I hope you will think it suitable, that I should render this letter public.

" The Mayor of Paris.

(Signed) " PETION."

Yesterday twenty Deputies from the Fauxbourg St. Antoine were admitted to the bar of the National Assembly, where their orator pronounced a bold, but respectful address.

" We are told, that the authors of the meeting on Wednesday (June 20) are threatened; we come to denounce them; they are we—we, fathers of families, citizen-soldiers, conquerors of the Bastille, who, wearied with the plots and outrages against the Nation and the Legislative Body, have assembled the men of the 14th of July, 1789, to renew the pact of alliance; it is we who wished to render you witness of the harmony which prevails between the friends of Liberty; and who, indignant at the dismissal of the patriot ministers, at the baseness and the perfidy of the Court, and at the difficulties opposed to the labours of the legislative power, wished to present to the King the spectacle of an hundred thousand men armed for the defence of the National Assembly.

" It is we, who have been calumniated by the valets of the Court, and have been placed 'by them between the fire of the National Guard, whom we esteem, and the indignation of the National Assembly, whom we would defend."

After

After further professions of duty to the National Assembly, the orator dwelt upon the treachery of the Court; who, he said, would sacrifice all the armies of France to the King of Hungary, if, by so doing, the reign of despotism, either directly, or collusively, could be restored. "It is always," says he, "from the foot of the throne, that the stream of conspiracy spreads itself into all the veins of the body politic."

An address was received from the citizens of Lyons, which accuses the King of perfidy; enquires whether he can any longer exercise the executive power; and invites the majority of the Assembly, to despise the minority, and adopt comprehensive measures.

An address from the citizens of Laval accuses the Queen of treachery. "It is the wife of the executive power, that artful and corrupt woman, whom we propose to you to denounce."

THE COUNCIL OF THE DEPARTMENT, AND M. PETION.

The Council of the Department of Paris having replied to M. Petion's first letter, that "they accuse no person individually," M. Petion has written to them the following answer:

"I reply, Gentlemen, in few words, to your very laconic letter. You observe, that your decree accuses no person individually, and that you will do what the law prescribes, when the process-verbals are given you.

"You will permit me to make two observations, of which you will perceive the justice: In order to blame no person, you blame all the world; you reproach the public functionaries, without distinction, with not having caused the law to be observed. This anathema is directed against us all; and it is the sort of attack least dangerous, since it places him who strikes, in security, and leaves no real means of defence to him who is struck.

"You wait for the process-verbals for your information: but in the mean time, you give judgment. You thus place the public functionaries under the weight of an accusation; and there is, at least, precipitation in such conduct.

"The Mayor of Paris.

(Signed)

"PETION."

M. Petion's account of the events on Wednesday the 20th of June is very long, and the greatest part of it is argumentative, defending the proceedings of the Municipality. The following are its most interesting parts:

"At

“ At half past four, I learned that the apartments of the Palace were filled with the populace. I was at the Palace before five. All the passages were obstructed, and I found the utmost difficulty in making my way, though the citizens did all they could to assist me. I stopped upon the stair-case; intreated the people to retire with good order and tranquillity; they applauded, but the crowd did not diminish.

“ I proceeded, with great difficulty, through all the apartments to that in which the King was. I first told him, what was true, that his person was safe, and that the magistrates of the people would risk their lives for his. I found him covered with the emblem of Liberty, and regarding the scene with a tranquil air. The Grenadiers raised me up that I might address the citizens; I perceived that my discourse made little impression; the citizens continued to talk with a dissatisfied air; and, upon enquiry, I found that they wished the King to explain himself with respect to his Vetos. I certainly did not intend to flatter them; I told them, that they had no right to question the authority of his Majesty's constitutional privilege.

“ I continued endeavouring to induce the people to retire, and, at length, they began, though slowly, to file off. I stood upon a chair, and was constantly, either addressing them, or making signs to them to go. Others, however, ascended the great stair-case, from the top of which I addressed them, and, at length, had some influence also upon those.”

The account concludes thus: “ Not a citizen received a wound during all this fermentation. Here is the best praise of the Municipality. Let us render thanks to the Supreme Being.

(Signed)

“ PETION.”

A number of suspicions having been entertained and promulgated of M. La Fayette's honour and integrity, he felt a necessity for relieving his character from these slanders. With this view, he left the army, and arrived in Paris on the 27th of June. Next day he requested to be admitted to the bar of the National Assembly. This request being granted, he went to the National Assembly on the 28th, and being admitted to the bar, M. Raymond read the following:

ADDRESS OF M. LA FAYETTE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

“ It becomes me, Gentlemen, in the first place, to declare to the Assembly, that my presence in this capital will in no way tend to injure either the welfare of the empire, or the safety of the State. The measures concerted betwixt Marechal

C c

Luckner

Luckner and Myself will be a security against every surprise. My motives for coming hither are as follow :

“ You have been told that the letter bearing my signature, and dated the 16th instant, cannot have come from me. I appear before you to acknowledge the letter, and to call on your justice to avenge the attempt of the 20th made at the Palace. This attempt against Liberty and the safety of the King has excited an indignation in my army, and in the heart of every good citizen. I am charged to communicate to you the patriotic hatred they have sworn against the factious leaders of this tumult. My brave companions were desirous to address the Assembly—they have renounced this project by my order, and I have taken upon me to lay before you their sentiments.

“ Several of them have already asked, whether it is the cause of Liberty and the Constitution which they defend ? It is time to defend the Constitution against the faction which aims to destroy it, to defend the National Assembly and the King, and to maintain the independence and authority delegated to them. I demand, therefore, that the authors and instigators of the troubles of the 20th, shall be prosecuted, as having been guilty of *leze-nation*.

“ I beseech the National Assembly, in the name of myself, and of every honest man in the kingdom, to take the most effectual measures to have a due respect paid to the constituted authorities, those of the Assembly and the King, and to guarantee to the army that no attempt shall be made against the Constitution, at the moment when they are spilling their blood for the country.”

The President replied, in the name of the Assembly, that it had sworn to maintain the laws, and knew how to defend them.

M. Guadet then, after expressing his surprise, that M. de la Fayette was come not to relate a victory, but to offer advice, moved, that it should be enquired of the Minister at War, Whether he had given M. de la Fayette permission to leave his army ?

In the course of the debate upon this motion, it was shewn, that M. de la Fayette had prevented his troops from signing an agreement of association, which they would otherwise have done; and the General did not, in this sitting, receive any reproof for having quitted his army to interfere in the legislative concerns of the country.

The motion of M. Guadet was rejected by the following division :

For it, 334—against it, 339—Majority, 5.

The address of M. de la Fayette was referred to the Committee of Twelve.

A letter

A letter from the King informed the Assembly, that he had appointed M. Joly, Secretary to the Community of Paris, to the place of Secretary of his Council.

FRENCH ARMED FORCES:

That our readers may be fully informed of the strength which France has to oppose her enemies, we insert the following, published at Paris *by authority* in the *Gazette de France*.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT MADE TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, IN THEIR MEETING ON THE 27TH OF JUNE, 1792.

STATE OF THE ARMIES OF FRANCE,

ON THE FIRST OF JUNE, 1792.

ARMY OF THE NORTH,

COMMANDED BY MARESCHAL LUCKNER.

	Men.
17 battalions of 823 men } - - -	14,491
1 ditto light troops 500 } - - -	
4 ditto artillery - - -	2,258
Infantry at posts - - -	12,700
42 squadrons of 150 men - - -	6,300
Cavalry at posts - - -	2,870
Total troops of the Line -	38,619
42 battalions of national guards of 500 men	21,000
Total effective in tents and at posts - -	59,619
Wanting to complete above -	5,409
Total when complete -	65,028

CENTER ARMY,

COMMANDED BY M. DE LA FAYETTE.

				Men.
18 battalions of infantry	}	-	-	14,492
1 ditto of light troops		-	-	
4 ditto artillery	-	-	-	2,136
26 ditto at posts	-	-	-	12,657
44 squadrons of 150 each in tents	-	-	-	6,600
Horse at different posts	-	-	-	2,470
Total troops of the Line				38,354
44 battalions of national guards of 500 each				22,000
				60,354
Wanting to complete	-	-	-	7,010
Total when complete	-	-	-	67,364

ARMY OF THE RHINE,

COMMANDED BY M. LA MORLIERE.

				Men.
15 battalions of infantry	}	-	-	13,845
3 ditto light troops		-	-	
4 ditto artillery	-	-	-	2,448
19 ditto infantry at posts	-	-	-	10,101
31 squadrons horse	-	-	-	4,650
13 ditto at posts	-	-	-	1,529
Total troops of the Line				32,573
32 battalions of national guards of 500 each				16,000
Total effective as well in tents as at posts				48,573
Wanting to complete	-	-	-	4,959
Total when complete	-	-	-	53,532

ARMY

ARMY OF THE SOUTH,

COMMANDED BY M. MONTESQUIOU.

	Men.
20 battalions of infantry and light troops	19,960
19 ditto at different posts	10,617
2 ditto artillery	1,170
13 squadrons	2,250
7 ditto at the different posts	1,224
Total effective in the camp and at posts	35,221
50 battalions of national guards of 500 each	25,000
	60,221
Wanting to complete	4,497
Total when complete	64,718

TROOPS ON THE COASTS AND IN THE INTERIOR PARTS
OF THE KINGDOM.

	Men.
34 battalions of infantry	19,189
17 squadrons	2,186
Total troops of the Line	21,375
7 battalions of national guards	3,500
Total effective ready to reinforce the armies	24,875
Wanting to complete	4,697
Total when complete	29,572

TROOPS IN THE COLONIES.

	Men.
10 battalions troops of the Line	12,371
10 ditto national guards	5,000
Total effective	17,371
Wanting to complete	193
Total when complete	17,564

It

It is necessary to observe, *1st*, That the estimation of the battalions of national guards, in this report, at 500 each, is far below their reality, and that one may fairly state, that the 185 battalions employed in the armies, as amounting to 92,500 men, forms at least 100,000. *Second*, That the deficiency of 26,765 in the troops of the Line, which existed on the 1st of June, has been completing ever since. *Third*, That independent of the armed force of nearly 400,000 already demonstrated by this statement, there exists in France (without speaking of marines and coast guards) at least 500,000 citizens, national guards, well armed and equipped, ready to recruit and reinforce the wants of the armies. It may then be advanced, without exaggeration, that the French nation is ready, if required, to display an armed force of between 7 and 800,000 fighting men, all sworn either to die or preserve their liberty and equality.

What a subject for the reflections of the powers who pretend to deprive them of these blessings, and to dictate the laws?

It is yet unheard of, that a nation, against the sovereignty of which the most powerful Kings of Europe are combined and armed, exposed so openly a state of its military forces: But the National Assembly have thought that this exact state of such an armed force, invincible by its nature, by its bravery, by the justice of its defence, by the rapidity with which it succeeded and multiplied, to the extinction of some millions of men, offered a striking and despairing tablet to the enemies of the French people; who, sooner or later, will be forced to acknowledge their independence and their sovereignty, and to leave them to the free and peaceable enjoyment of all their rights.

RECAPITULATION.

GÉNÉRAL STATE OF THE FRENCH ARMIES ON THE FIRST OF JUNE, 1792.

Armies.	Troops of the Line.	National Guards.	Effective Forces.	Wanting to Completion	Completion of the Armies.
Of the NORTH	38,619	21,000	59,619	5,409	65,028
Of the CENTER	38,354	22,000	60,354	7,010	67,364
Of the RHINE	32,573	16,000	48,573	4,959	53,532
Of the SOUTH	35,221	25,000	60,221	4,497	64,718
Of the INTERIOR	21,375	3,500	24,875	4,697	29,572
In the COLONIES	12,371	5,000	17,371	193	17,564
THREE LEGIONS			12,000		22,800
54 FREE COMPANIES			10,800		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	178,513	92,500	293,813	26,765	

Battalions of national guards now raising and daily completing 79,282

General total of the armed force, as above mentioned - 399,860

OF EUROPE.

PARIS, *June 29.*

This day the six Ministers appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, to give an account of their respective administrations.

M. Duranton spoke first: He said it had been required of him and his colleagues to point out proper measures to substitute for the two Decrees which the King had refused to sanction: He knew no other means than to enforce the respect due to the constituted authorities, and ensure the execution of the laws. He demanded that these articles, which were yet deficient in the criminal code, might be filled up; he observed, that, with respect to the evils produced by the diversity of religious opinions, the Constitutional Act had committed not to the Executive Power, but to the authorities of the second order, the care of repressing such as should be found instrumental in promoting these disturbances; and that the obligation upon the King to watch over the internal tranquillity, extended only to the suppressing such seditious assemblages, as could be dissolved by public force alone. He concluded with saying, that Ministers were not responsible for the King's refusing his sanction, as the King ought to possess the same freedom with regard to his sanction, which was vested in his own person, and constituted an essential part of his royal prerogative, as with regard to any other exercise of thought.

All the Ministers signed a memorial to this effect.

The Minister at War read the following

PROCLAMATION OF THE KING TO THE FRENCH ARMY,

"Frenchmen, who carry arms in defence of your country, it is the King, it is the Supreme Chief given you by the Constitution, who declares to you in these perilous circumstances, his solicitude and the constant interest he takes in all your actions. The eyes of the nation are fixed upon you. In confiding to you the fate of the State, she founds her hopes of tranquillity and happiness on the order, the discipline, and the obedience extending through all ranks, that ought to reign among you. Of these, you have already felt the happy effects; and wherever you have been obedient to the military laws, your courage has been crowned with success. The union of citizen-soldiers and soldier-citizens, combating for Liberty, resolved to save it or perish, and each holding up an example to the other, is a spectacle truly striking. I cannot, but with the most lively satisfaction, see soldiers, new to the profession of arms, becoming all at once the rivals of the most veteran troops, and thus proving that the love of their country and the love of liberty are the basis of all the warlike virtues.

"But, soldiers, misunderstand not this sacred name of Liberty. Think that it consists in obeying none but the laws, and establishes fidelity to them as the first of duties. To them the King submits zealously and without reserve: May his example encourage you to brave every danger, rather than fail in what you have sworn to observe! I formerly deplored the error of those officers, who, misled by false prejudices, abjured oaths voluntary and sacred; but since you have been fighting for your country, I am profoundly indignant against those who basely go over to the enemy, and abandon the post of honour in which my confidence had placed them. I consider them as my personal enemies; as the most dangerous enemies of the State; and my sensibility will be the less affected, when I see all the rigour of the laws fall heavy upon them.

"Rigorous towards the officers in proportion to the importance of their duties, I expect from the soldiers the most entire submission to the rules of discipline. I have given you, Generals, whose experience, whose talents, and whose patriotism justify my confidence; you owe them all yours; your own safety requires it. If near you are found wicked men, who wish to divert you from this, do not listen to them; fly those traitors who deceive, and wish to disgrace you.

"French soldiers, illustrious in all ages by your warlike spirit, the energy of that spirit cannot but be increased since you are become citizens and free-men. Fight with courage; respect the property of the peaceful; recollect your humanity for the vanquished; know that the inevitable reverses of war are lessons that teach to conquer; know that success can be the consequence only of mutual confidence and rigorous discipline; the successes you have obtained are the presage of others; and to you the sure pledges of the gratitude of your fellow-citizens; of the esteem of the representatives of the nation, and the love of the King of the French.

(Signed)

"LOUIS.

(Counter-signed)

"LAJARE."

The same Minister then read an extract of a letter from Marechal Luckner, dated Menin, June 26. "I send back your last courier immediately. Our position is still the same, and nothing can change it so much as to make us fall back to Lisle. I have reinforced my advanced guard at Courtray, and with the entrenchments I am throwing up, our position there will be very good. You may assure the King that the French nation has not a more zealous defender of our Constitution than I am. My attachment to his Majesty does not allow me to hold a language to him at variance with the dictates of my

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heart

heart and my conscience. On the return of M. Valence, I shall send back your former courier with most circumstantial details of the situation of our army, of the spirit that reigns in it, and the sensation produced by the late treatment of the King, who is as dear as the Constitution.

"I will send by the same courier a copy of my plan for the campaign, to be submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's Council."

The Minister added, that these dispatches contained many things with which it was of importance for the Assembly to be made acquainted, but which it would be dangerous to publish. Referred to a Committee.

The Minister communicated the following

LETTER FROM MARESCHAL LUCKNER TO THE KING.

"SIRE, *Head Quarters at Menin, June 28.*

"Called by your Majesty's choice to the command of one of the French armies, as to the most eminent rank, and honoured with many signal testimonies of confidence from the National Assembly in the name of the nation, which has deigned not to disavow that testimony; I devoted all my moments, and all my efforts to merit a lot so flattering for a stranger. This particular disposition, my inviolable attachment to France, and my ancient military habits, that render me still more a stranger to all political questions, my character, my duty, all contribute to absorb my time and my attention in the cares of service. I knew only the Constitution, the work of a free people; I had taken an oath to defend it; I was solely occupied in re-establishing discipline, in perfecting instruction, and securing our first steps in the enemy's country. Already my cares were prosperous, although more complete success necessarily depended on promises, over which I have no controul, and which have not yet been realized; already I could flatter myself with having made some progress, and much on the zeal of my army, when afflicting news arrived to withdraw me from my occupations.

"A great commotion, which I dare not characterize, has reigned in the capital, and even in your palace. All the citizens of the Empire have been informed of it by a Proclamation, in which each sentiment is a new title to gratitude. I immediately caused it to be distributed to all my army. I knew too well the officers and soldiers I command, to doubt that they would participate the lively emotion I myself felt, my indignation against the factious, my respect for your inflexible courage, and I am happy in being at this moment the Inter-
preter

preter of my brave companions in arms, by having the honour to send you this letter.

"All have seen with admiration that your Majesty never shewed a countenance more encouraging for the true friends of Liberty and the Constitution, and more awful to the enemies of both. May your Majesty, strong in our confidence and your own intentions, continue to frustrate conspiracies; be assured that by a similar conduct you cannot fail to give every degree of confidence to the one, and deprive the other of all hope.

"In intreating you to this, I join with another General, who has acquired the right of making his voice be heard as often as liberty and the success of a revolution to which he has co-operated so usefully are in question.

"I shall never think that I compromise the interest of my army in saying, with my ordinary frankness, that it must feel a pernicious influence when the Supreme Chief, given us by the Constitution, is not every where respected as he deserves to be; when, I will add, our activity abroad is necessarily impeded by the internal troubles that have lately afflicted good citizens, disunited opinions, disquieted courage, and rectitude of intention.

"Such is the frank declaration which I have the honour to address to your Majesty with the homage of my respect. I request the King to direct his Minister to be on this occasion the interpreter of my sentiments to the National Assembly.

(Signed) "*Mareschal of France and General of the Army,*
"LUCKNER."

"We have requested permission of Mareschal Luckner to sign the letter which he has the honour of addressing to you, and to associate ourselves in all the sentiments it contains.

(Signed) "*By all the Aids-du-Camp of Mareschal*
"LUCKNER."

He next communicated the following

LETTER FROM M. LA FAYETTE.

"SIR,

Paris, June 29, 1792.

"I informed you that the position of our army was such, that the enemy could not attack it with impunity. Some light troops, however, endeavoured to disturb the movement which I had ordered M. Lallemand to make with the advanced guard, to bring it nearer to Maubeuge. You will see, by the relation of this excellent General Officer, that the attempt served only to display the talents of the General, the bravery and discipline of the troops, whom I have the honour to command."

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M. Lallemand's

M. Lallemand's letter is dated Entrenched Camp below Matbeuge, June 27. It contains an account of the military disposition made by him, and of the action, which terminated entirely in favour of the French. The enemy was warmly pursued. M. Lallemand adds, "I find we have taken eighty-three prisoners, of whom five are officers, a captain of Hussars, and twenty others wounded. The number of the enemy killed is about twenty. On our side we know as yet but of two killed and six wounded; among the latter a captain and an adjutant. This unexpected advantage is to be attributed to the imprudent forwardness of the Austrian light troops, who had the audacity to attack, and even to make a stand near our advanced posts with only three hundred horse and three hundred foot. The reinforcement I had sent for was not wanted. I ordered the troops to their quarters, after assuring myself that the enemy were retired." He concludes with high compliments to the corps engaged in this skirmish, and says he feels himself honoured in having the command of such troops.

On the 30th day of June M. Jean Bril proposed the following decree: "When the internal and foreign safety of the State shall be threatened, and the Legislative Body shall judge it indispensable to employ extraordinary measures, they shall declare by the following formula: *"Citizens, the country is in danger."* Immediately after this declaration, all the Administrative Bodies shall assemble, all the citizens, qualified to bear arms, shall be in a state of permanent activity, &c. The decree goes on to state the other measures that shall be adopted on such an exigence, and concludes that when the danger shall have ceased, the National Assembly shall declare by this formula: *"Citizens, the country is no longer in danger."*

The discussion was interrupted by the following

LETTER FROM M. LA FAYETTE.

"GENTLEMEN,

"On returning to the post where brave soldiers devote themselves to death for the Constitution, but where they neither ought to, nor will, lavish their blood but for the Constitution, I carry with me a lively and profound regret that I am not able to inform the army of the Assembly's having already deigned to come to a decision on my petition.

"The cry of all the good citizens in the kingdom, which the clamours of a few factious persons strive in vain to stifle, daily informs the elected representatives and the hereditary representative of the people, that while near them shall exist a sect that fetters all the authorities, menaces their independence, and, after having provoked a war, seeks, by misrepresenting our
cause,

cause, to deprive it of defenders; that while we have to blush for as unpunished a crime of treason, which has roused the just and urgent alarms of all Frenchmen and the indignation of all the world, our liberty, our laws, our honour, are in peril.

"Such are the truths which free and generous spirits are not afraid to repeat: revolting against the factious of every description, indignant against the dastardly, who would degrade themselves to the point of expecting a foreign interference, penetrated with the principle which I have the honour of having been the first to profess in France, that all illegal power is oppression, and that to resist them is a duty—they are bound to lay their fears before the Legislative Body. They hope that the attention of the Legislative Body will deliver them from those fears.

"As for me, Gentlemen, who have never changed principles, sentiments, or language, I should hope, that the National Assembly, considering the urgency and the danger of circumstances, will permit me to join the new expression of my regret and my wishes to the homage of my profound respect.

(Signed)

"LA FAYETTE."

The discussion was resumed. M. de Launay, in a long discourse, proposed a motion to suspend, till the declaration of peace, all the laws and the Constitution itself, and to attend only to the voice of imperious necessity. He then made a digression to the petition of M. la Fayette. He loudly reprobated his conduct, which he compared to the tyranny which Cæsar had exercised over his country. "But ought he," said he, "to compare himself to Cæsar! I beg his pardon; the distance between them is immense."

M. Isnard expressed his surprise, that the Assembly should not have sent to the bar of Orleans this factious soldier.

COPY OF A LETTER TO THE KING FROM M. ALEX. BERTHIER, MAJOR-GENERAL AND CHIEF OF THE ETAT-MAJOR OF THE ARMY OF THE NORTH.

"SIRE, *Camp at Menin, June 27th, 4th Year of Liberty.*

"The news of the events of June 20th have just reached the army of the North. I trembled for Liberty; but my confidence was restored by the firmness, by the courage of the King of the French.

"As a freeman I feel the pride and the dignity of the title, and my indignation burns against those guilty men who have violated the Constitution in one of the constituted authorities; because I am the most implacable enemy of those who wilfully deviate from the principles of the Constitution.

"It

" It is at the moment in which our liberty has been brought into danger, that I renew to the nation and to your Majesty the oath *to be faithful to the Nation; the Law, and the King*, and to maintain, with all my power, the Constitution decreed by the Constituting Assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. Yes, Sire, I will be faithful to the constitutional King of the French; and I declare, that the same arms with which I fight our common enemies, shall in my hands be equally directed against those within the kingdom, those factious men who wish to change the government which the majority of the nation has willed.

" Holding one of the first places in the army of the North, I have endeavoured to justify your Majesty's choice by meriting the esteem and the confidence of a General known by his victories; as much a stranger to all party-spirit as devoted to our Constitution, and to the King of the French.

" I am happy, Sire, to assure you that the troops of the army of the North are becoming every day more worthy of being the soldiers of a free nation; that they have confidence in the chiefs you have given them; and that they display those qualities which at all times have characterised the French nation.

(Signed) "ALEX. BERTHIER."

LETTER FROM THE MINISTER OF THE HOME DEPARTMENT TO THE EIGHTY-THREE DEPARTMENTS, ON THE FŒDERATION OF THE 14TH JULY.

Paris, June 30th, 4th Year of Liberty.

" I am informed, Gentlemen, that, in several departments, factious persons, who seek to deceive the people, wish to collect and conduct to Paris, on pretext of a fœderation, armed men, who cannot be received into it on any pretext.

" The XXth article of the third section of the law of October 14th, on the organization of the national guard, directs that the fœderation oath shall be renewed annually on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the general fœderation, in the chief place of each district. The article next following imports, that, in future, there shall be no particular fœderation, and declares every act of the kind an infringement of the unity of the kingdom, and the constitutional fœderation of all the French.

" The plan of a law was presented to the King for renewing this fœderation at Paris, and forming a camp of 20,000 men between the capital and the frontiers.

" Weighty considerations prevented the King from acceding to the measure decreed by the National Assembly on the subject

of the fœderation; and his Majesty has presented to the Legislative Body the means of securing the capital against foreign enemies, by proposing to form in the second line a camp of 33,000 men. If the National Assembly adopt this measure, the citizens who burn to fight for their country, may not only see their wish accomplished, and be usefully employed, but from this moment they may enter their names in the registers of their respective municipalities, to join their brothers in arms on the frontiers, and share their perils and their glory, by supplying the numbers wanting to complete our armies.

“ They are then highly culpable, who would persuade the people, that the decree relative to the fœderation has the force of law, although it be not confirmed by the royal sanction. It is by an act of his constitutional authority that the King has refused to sanction this decree; and not to cause the lawful exercise of the royal power to be respected, would be to suffer the Constitution to be violated with impunity.

“ I have received advices, Gentlemen, that numerous agitators are spread throughout the departments, and that they are employing the most pernicious manœuvres to make the citizens quit their useful labours, and engage them to repair in crowds to Paris on the 14th of July. It is to be feared, that a multitude of banditti, assuming the quality of national guards, and on pretext of the fœderation, may inundate the capital, and disturb the civic festival, by which all the French, without quitting their homes, may unite in intention on the same day, and revive the sentiment of their fraternity.

“ In consequence, the King charges me to direct you to employ all the means with which the law has entrusted you, for dispersing all illegal assemblings. Remind the districts and municipalities of your department, that it is the duty of the Magistrates, while they inform the people, to oppose with all their power, and on their responsibility, all sorts of assemblings contrary to the laws; that it is their duty to enjoin the officers of police, the national gendarmerie, and all the public force, to watch, and, if need be, to disperse all assemblages of armed men, marching without being legally called upon, or authorised, out of their own territory, should they even do so on pretext of intending to repair to Paris.

“ I request you, Gentlemen, to inform me of the day on which you receive this letter, of the measures you take in consequence, and the success of the means you employ.

(Signed)

“ TERRIER,

“ Minister for the Home Department.”

LETTER OF THE MAYOR OF PARIS.

1st July.

"Citizens, the storm is collecting—you will be more calm than ever. Tumult would destroy the public cause—tranquillity will restore it. They will strive to exhaust your patience—to excite your indignation. Have the courage to resist coldly all these provocations.

"Already there is a public rumour that, before the 10th of this month, we shall be witnesses of very great misfortunes. Give the lie to this rumour—disconcert the projects of your enemies. The moment is come when the intriguers will be discovered, and when we shall be able to distinguish the true friends, from the false worshippers, of the Constitution. Calumnies will pass away—truth will stand its ground—the Magistrates of the people will watch for them.

(Signed)

"PETION."

On the second day of July, the Military Committee proposed to the National Assembly, that the plan offered by the King should be accepted, and the following decree was accordingly passed:

1. "Those French citizens, who shall come to Paris, to offer their services for the army of the reserve, or for that of the frontiers, are to repair to the municipality of Paris, where their names and certificates of their service in the national guard shall be inscribed.

2. "The municipality shall immediately send them billets of military lodging for eight days, if they arrive before the fœderation, and for three days, if they arrive after it.

3. "Such of these citizens, as shall be at Paris on the 14th of July, shall participate in the *fête* of the fœderation with the national guard of the quarter in which they shall be lodged.

4. "They shall then receive the order of the route for Soissons, where the reserve will be formed."

The abandonment of Courtray by Marechal Luckner took place on the 29th of June, at night, and, the next day, he encamped in his old situation, without the gate de la Magdeleine, at Lille. At four o'clock, the next morning, one part of his army marched for Orchies, and the other for Valenciennes; the troops drawn from the camp near Dunkirk returned to their former post, and the defensive system was thus entirely adopted for the campaign.

On the day preceding the evacuation of Courtray, the Austrians made an attack upon the place, and the cannonade continued almost till night. Being posted in some houses of the suburbs,

suburbs, their fire greatly annoyed the French grenadiers, and General Jarry found it necessary to drive them from thence by setting fire to the houses.

The Belgic legion distinguished themselves much in this repulse, and by an extraordinary manoeuvre: They placed their hats upon iron spikes in the midst of some high corn, and, while the Austrians continued to fire at these, the Belgians fell upon their flank, and routed them with considerable effect. Courtray was not thought defensible.

On the second day of July, M. Duranthon gave in his dismissal, which the King accepted.

The plan of the war is totally changed. As soon as the new Ministers were fairly seated, they adopted the only plan that could be with wisdom adopted, and that ought to have been originally so—the plan of a defensive war. It was not the business of France to go into Flanders, and to excite insurrection. It was calculated to make the English and Dutch governments their enemies, who could not see with indifference an attempt to destroy the barrier between France and Holland.

France also is to be assailed on the side of Alsace and Lorraine, by which avenue she is easily accessible. In Flanders she is strongly fortified, and so secured against invasion that she has little to dread: But from the Rhine the country is open, and an army might march to Paris with little interruption. Ninety thousand veteran troops, Austrians and Prussians, will be ready to invade France from this side in a fortnight or three weeks. It was time, therefore, to oppose to this formidable power all the strength of the kingdom.

The plan is, that one of the two armies in the North shall march to the Rhine, and the Marechal Luckner shall resume his command. He has retired from Austrian Flanders with all his force in consequence of this arrangement. M. De Beaucharnois is arrived in Paris, to concert measures with the War Minister; and we expect M. Luckner himself to take this route in passing to the army on the Rhine.

On the third day of July, the Minister at War communicated the following extract of a letter from Marechal Luckner to the National Assembly:

“ I send you an account of a disagreeable event. Our advanced posts at Courtray, having been warmly attacked, fell back. The enemy took possession of some houses, and fired from them on our entrenchments.

“ After they were dislodged, a shot was fired at M. Jarry from one of the houses, which was also said to contain a quantity of powder. To prevent the enemy from availing themselves of this circumstance, M. Jarry ordered the house to be set on

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fire.

fire. I considered this merely as a justifiable expedient of war; but a deputation from the Magistrates informed me that M. Jarry continued burning the houses. I hastened to the spot, and demanded by whose orders: M. Jarry said, the defence of Courtray having been confided to him, he thought this a necessary operation. M. Carle was guilty of a weakness in suffering M. Jarry to act, who was under his command. I blamed him openly; but I could not punish him, because he alleged a necessity for what he did, which necessity he must be permitted to prove. The loss sustained by burning the houses is undoubtedly afflicting; but the fact itself has given me a degree of pain which I cannot express. I request that you will communicate these circumstances to the National Assembly, and appeal to its justice for an indemnification to the sufferers."

The Assembly ordered, That the Executive Power enquire into the amount of the above losses, and that 300,000 livres be immediately issued to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to be applied to the immediate relief of the sufferers.

BRUSSELS, July 6.

It appears, from the accounts which have been published by this government, that, early in the morning of the 30th ult. the French troops stationed at Courtray retreated from thence to Menin, where Monsieur Luckner had fixed his head quarters, and that the whole French army, after this junction, fell back to Lisle, where they arrived the same night, having entirely evacuated the Austrian Low Countries. *London Gazette.*

The Duke of Brunswick arrived at Coblenz the 3d instant, and the first column of the Prussian army reached that place the same day. *Ibid.*

On the fourth of July, the following decree was made by the National Assembly, with very little debate:

"Art. I. Whenever the internal or external safety of the State shall be menaced, and that the Legislative Body shall have judged it indispensable to adopt extraordinary measures, they shall declare it by a solemn act, subject to the sanction expressed in the following formula:

Citizens, the country is in danger.

II. Immediately after the declaration is published, the councils of departments and districts shall assemble, and, as well as the municipalities, shall be constantly on the watch. All functionaries, civil and military, and the councils General of communities, shall instantly repair to their posts.

III. Every citizen able to carry arms, who has already served in the national guard, shall also be in a state of permanent activity.

IV. Every

IV. Every citizen shall be obliged to declare, before their respective municipalities, the number and nature of the arms and ammunition of which they may be provided.

V. The Legislative Body shall fix the number of national guards which every department ought to furnish.

VI. The directors of departments shall make the division among the cantons, in proportion to the number of national guards to each canton.

VII. Three days after the publication of the resolution of the director, the national guards shall assemble by cantons; and, under the inspection or care of the municipality of the chief place, they shall choose among them the number of men which the canton is to furnish.

VIII. The citizens who shall have obtained the honour to march first to the assistance of the country in danger, shall go three days after to the chief place of their district; they shall there form in company before a commissioner of the administration of the district, conformable to the law of the 4th of August, 1791. They shall there receive military quarters, and shall hold themselves in readiness to march on the first requisition.

IX. The captains shall command alternately, and week about, the national guards being chosen and united at the head place of district.

X. When the new companies of national guards of every department shall be sufficient in number to form a battalion, they shall unite in the place marked out for them by the Executive Power, and the volunteers shall appoint their commanding officer.

XI. Their pay shall be fixed on the same footing as those of other national volunteers; and shall take place the day of their meeting at the chief place of canton.

XII. The national arms shall be deposited in the chief place of the canton to the national guards, chosen by the composition of the new battalions of volunteers. The National Assembly invite all citizens to trust voluntarily, and during the time of danger, the arms of which they may be the depositaries, to those whom they shall order to defend them.

XIII. As soon as the present decrees shall be published, the directors of district shall furnish each with a thousand ball cartridge, which shall be preserved in a dry and safe place, in order to distribute them among the volunteers, whenever they shall judge it necessary.

XIV. The pay of the volunteers shall be given them on the mandates that shall be delivered by the directors of districts, ordered by the directors of departments, and the receipts shall

be received at the national treasury as ready money. The volunteers shall be received with or without uniform, and with any uniform whatever.

XV. Every person invested with a mark or token of rebellion shall be prosecuted before the ordinary tribunals, and be punished with death.

Every citizen is hereby ordered to apprehend him, or to denounce him immediately, under the pain of being reputed an accomplice.

Every cockade, other than that with the national colours, is a sign of rebellion. Every man residing in France, every stranger or traveller, shall be obliged to wear the national cockade; ambassadors and received agents of foreign powers only excepted.

XVI. The declaration of the danger of the country cannot be pronounced in the same sitting in which it has been proposed; and, especially, the Minister shall be heard as to the state of the kingdom.

XVII. When the danger of the country shall have ceased, the National Assembly shall declare it by the following formula;

"Citizens, the country is no longer in danger."

M. Digoly, the new Minister of Justice, presented a

LETTER FROM THE KING.

"GENTLEMEN,

July 5, 4th Year of Liberty,

"We approach the famous epoch at which the French are going to commemorate, in all parts of the kingdom, a pact of alliance contracted on the altar of our country on the 14th of July, 1790. The law forbids all particular federations: It allows only an annual renewal of the federative pact in the chief town of each district. But we have in our power a measure which, without the least violation of the letter of the law, seems to me adapted to the grand events that every where present themselves. When a great nation wages war abroad in defence of liberty, then it is that she feels most strongly the necessity of peace at home; when all the intestine dissensions seem to coincide with the foreign war, when wicked men are striving to excite troubles, the peaceable citizens stand in need of encouragement. We must prove to the armies on our frontiers, that they are fighting in reality for the peace and the liberty of their country. I am of opinion, Gentlemen, that we cannot give them a surer pledge of this, than the union of the two Constituted Powers, renewing on the 14th of July, round the altar of our country, the same resolution—to live free or die.

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“ A great number of Frenchmen are collecting from all the departments. They think that they shall double their force and their courage, if, on the eve of their departure for the frontiers, they shall be admitted to celebrate the anniversary of the federation with the citizens of Paris. I express to you my desire of going in the midst of you to receive their oaths, [*applauded by the majority of the Assembly, and a part of the people in the galleries,*] and to prove to the evil-disposed, who seek to ruin the country by dividing us, that we are animated by but one and the same spirit—that of the Constitution; and that, if we are compelled to war, it is principally by internal peace that we wish to prepare and assure our victories.

(Signed)

“ LOUIS.

(Counterigned)

“ DEJOLY.”

The Minister for Foreign Affairs communicated to the Assembly several papers from Coblenz, that had been intercepted and sent to the King. Among these were two bills of exchange, for sums to the amount of 6,000,000 of livres, and several certificates, all issued by the emigrant Princes in the King's name.

In consequence of these papers, the King had issued the following

NOTIFICATION TO THE POWERS OF EUROPE, FROM THE KING OF THE FRENCH.

“ The King of the French being informed that persons still continue to make use of his name to propose negotiations with foreign courts, to make loans, and even to dare to make levies of foreign troops, and being again desirous of consecrating, in a solemn manner, his attachment to the Constitution, which he freely accepted, and which he has sworn to defend, disavows all declarations, protestations, negotiations with foreign courts, loans, levies of foreign troops, purchases of arms, warlike stores, and others, and generally all acts, public and private, made in his name by Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier, Charles-Philip, Louis-Joseph, and Louis-Anthony-Henry, French Princes, and by other emigrants, rebels to the laws, and to their country.

“ He declares, that his own interests, and those of the people, of whom he is the hereditary representative, are for ever inseparable; that the government, the execution of which is confided to him, shall be maintained by him in all its purity.

“ Firm in this resolution, the King of the French charges his Minister of Foreign Affairs to notify to all the powers, that, entirely devoted to the cause of the French people, he will make use of all the force put into his hands against the enemies of
France,

France, whatever pretexts may be employed to countenance the armed assemblies of the emigrants, or to support them in their hostile proceedings.

(Signed)

" LOUIS.

(And undersigned)

" CHAMBONNAS."

The Minister also communicated an extract of his foreign correspondence, the sum of which was, that 38,000 Prussians are on their march to the Rhine; and that France would soon have to contend against 150,000 men.

FRIDAY, *July 6.*

LETTER FROM THE KING.

" MR. PRESIDENT,

" It is with regret that I inform you that one more enemy has just declared against France. I am informed that a Prussian army, amounting to 52,000 men, has begun to march. Every thing proves that there is a good understanding between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin. These are imminent hostilities, and, conformably to the Constitution, I give notice of them to the Assembly."

M. Condorcet reported from the Committee of Twelve, on the state of the kingdom. After a speech of considerable length, in which he inveighed bitterly against the conduct of the Executive Power, particularly since the appointment of the present Ministers, he proposed that a representation should be made to the King of the condition to which the management of his court had reduced the nation, with four plans of a decree for abridging and controuling the royal power.

His speech was ordered to be printed.

E N G L A N D.

[*Continued from page 110.*]

A LIST of the COUNTIES in ENGLAND, with the names of those English Peers who possess such a decided influence in each County as to dictate to the Free-holders the choice of their Representatives in Parliament.—Whenever an opposition in an election for a County happens, it is owing to the Peers being divided in their nomination of Candidates; but whenever the Peers in a County have been united, they have always been successful, at least during the present reign *, in which the number and powers of the Aristocracy have been increased to a most alarming degree, This enormous increase of the Aristocratical power was one of the original lessons of the late Lord Bute.

COUNTIES.	PEERS WHO HAVE INFLUENCE.
Bedford.	Duke of Bedford elects one member, Lord St. John, &c. the other.
Berks.	Lord Craven has usually elected one member, the other uncertain.
Bucks.	Marquis of Buckingham elects one member. The other Peers who have influence are the Dukes of Portland, Bedford, and Bridgwater, and the Lords Chesterfield, Stanhope, Hampden, &c.
Cambridge.	The Duke of Rutland and Lord Hardwicke, when they are united, can elect both members.
Cornwall.	Dukes of Bedford, Leeds, and Northumberland, the Lords Mount Edgcumbe, Falmouth, Camelford, Elliot, &c.
Derbyshire.	Duke of Devonshire elects one member, the Duke of Rutland, Lords Stanhope, Scarfdale, &c., when united with his Grace, can elect the other.
Devon.	Duke of Bedford, Lords Mount Edgcumbe, Poulett, Fortescue, Boringdon, &c.

* The remedy for this evil is obvious. It lies in one of these two ways : Either to extend the right of election to every person in the County who pays taxes, or to limit the right of election to persons possessing not less than one hundred pounds per annum landed estate ; because it may be presumed that these latter persons are not so liable to influence as the man of forty shillings.

Dorset.

COUNTIES.

PEERS WHO HAVE INFLUENCE.

Dorset.	The Lords Rivers, Shaftesbury, Digby, Ilchester, Milton, &c.
Durham.	The Bishop and Lord Darlington.
Essex.	The Lords, Rochford, Waldegrave, Howard, &c.
Gloucester.	Duke of Beaufort, Lords Berkeley, Sherborne, Chedworth, Bathurst, &c.
Hants.	The Ministry, the Dukes of Bedford, Bolton, Chandos, the Lords Porchester, Stawell, &c.
Hereford.	Dukes of Norfolk, Beaufort, Lord Oxford, &c.
Herts.	The Lords Salisbury, Grimstone, Essex, &c.
Huntingdon.	Duke of Manchester, Lord Sandwich, &c.
Kent.	The Ministry, Duke of Dorset, Lords Romney, Thanet, Sondes, Aylesford, &c.
Lancaster.	Lords Derby, Grey de Wilton, &c.
Leicester.	Duke of Rutland, Lords Ferrers, Wentworth, &c.
Lincoln.	Duke of Ancaster, Lords Brownlow, Exeter, Scarborough, &c.
Middlesex.	Dukes of Northumberland, Newcastle, Bedford, and Devonshire.
Monmouth.	Duke of Beaufort.
Norfolk.	The Lords Townsend, Orford, Bucks, Suffield, Walsingham, &c.
Northumberland.	Duke of Northumberland, Lord Tankerville, &c.
Northampton.	Duke of Grafton, Lord Spencer, Northampton, Pomfret, Fitzwilliam, Sackville, &c.
Notts.	Dukes of Portland and Newcastle, Lords Middleton, Byron, &c.
Oxford.	Duke of Marlborough, Lords Harcourt, Macclesfield, Abingdon, &c.
Rutland.	The Lords Gainsborough, Winchelsea, Cardigan, Exeter, &c.
Salop.	Lords Powis, Berwick, &c.
Somerset.	Lords Poulett, Egremont, &c.
Surry.	Lords Stafford, Bagot, Stamford, Uxbridge, Harrowby, &c.
Stafford.	Duke of Grafton, Lords Bristol, Cornwallis, Albemarle, &c.
Suffolk.	Duke of Bedford, Lords Spencer, Onslow, Grantly, &c.

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Suffex.

COUNTIES.	PEERS WHO HAVE INFLUENCE.
Suffex.	Dukes of Richmond, Norfolk, and Dorset, Lords Egremont, Pelham, Gage, Aber- gavenny, Ashburnham, &c.
Warwick.	Lords Warwick, Craven, Hertford, Dart- mouth, Dudley, Denbigh, Sandys, &c.
Westmorland.	Lord Londale.
Wilts.	Lords Lansdown, Bath, Pembroke, Rad- nor, Holland, &c.
Worcester.	Lords Coventry, Foley, Plymouth, Den- bigh, Somers, &c.
York.	Dukes of Norfolk; Leeds, Devonshire, Lords Fitzwilliam, Fauconberg, Carlisle, Harewood, Grantham, Thanet, Scar- borough, Middleton.

The few opulent Commoners, who have each an interest in their several Counties, (and the Irish Peers who, in England, are Commoners likewise) are not mentioned; because their interest not being Aristocratical, is not an invasion of the Constitution.

CINQUE PORTS*.

BOROUGH.	SPECIES OF INFLUENCE & PROPRIETORS.	VOTERS.
Dover.	The Lord Warden and the Admiralty, when united, elect one Member, and money the other	- - 1100
Sandwich.	The Admiralty	- - 490
Romney.	Sir Edward Dering	- - 8
Hastings.	The Treasury	- - 12
Hythe.	The same	- - 120
Rye.	The same	- - 6
Winchelsea.	R. Barwell, Esq.	- - 3
Seaford.	The Treasury, but disputed by the Right Hon. Thom. Pelham	- - 80

W A L E S.

Anglesea.	Lords Uxbridge and Bulkeley	
Beaumaris.	Lord Bulkeley	
Brecon.	The Morgan interest	
Brecon, town.	The same	- - 250
Cardigan.	Lord Lisburne and J. Campbell, Esq.	

* Originally were Dover, Sandwich, Romney, Hastings, and Hythe; afterwards, Rye, Winchelsea, and Seaford, were added: But the old name of Cinque Ports is still retained.

BOROUGHES.	PROPRIETORS.	VOTERS.
Cardigan, <i>town</i> .	T. Johnes - -	900
Caermarthen.	Lady Dinevor	
Caermarthen, <i>town</i> .	J. G. Phillips, Esq. -	400
Carnarvon.	Lords Uxbridge and Bulkeley	
Carnarvon, <i>town</i> .	The same - -	600
Denbigh.	Sir W. W. Wynne	
Denbigh, <i>town</i> .	R. Myddleton, Esq. -	500
Flint.	Sir R. Mostyn	
Flint, <i>town</i> .	Sir W. W. Wynne -	750
Glamorgan.	Duke of Beaufort, Lords Plymouth, Bute, Vernon.	
Cardiff.	Lord Bute -	800
Merioneth.	Sir W. W. Wynne.	
Montgomery.	Lord Powis.	
Montgomery, <i>town</i> .	Lord Powis.	
Pembroke.	Lords Milford, Kenfington, Sir Hugh Owen	
Pembroke, <i>town</i> .	Hugh Barlow, Esq. -	450
Haverfordwest.	Lord Milford -	460
Radnor.	Lord Oxford	
Radnor, <i>town</i> .	Lord Oxford -	900

SCOTLAND.

COUNTIES.		
Aberdeen.	- - -	150
Argyle.	Duke of Argyle -	40
Ayr.	- - -	200
Bamff.	Duke of Gordon and Lord Fife	100
Berwick.	- - -	140
Caithness.	Sir John Sinclair -	21
Cromarty.	William Pulteney -	6
Dumbarton.	Hon. Keith Elphinston -	64
Dumfries.	- - -	21
Edinburgh.	Right Hon. H. Dundas -	96
Fife.	Lord Fife -	180
Forfar.	- - -	90
Haddington.	- - -	76
Inverness.	Duke of Gordon -	100
Kincardine.	- - -	50
Kinrofs.	- - -	22
Kirkcudbright.	- - -	54
Lanerk.	- - -	140
Linlithgow.	- - -	60
Moray.	- - -	76
		Orkney.

COUNTIES.				VOTERS.
Orkney.	-	-	-	40
Peebles.	-	-	-	37
Perth.	-	-	-	140
Renfrew.	-	-	-	100
Rofs.	-	-	-	70
Selkirk.	-	-	-	40
Stirling.	-	-	-	50
Sutherland.	-	-	-	30
Wigton.	-	-	-	50

BOROUGHES.

Dingwall, Dornock, Wick, Kirkwall, and Tain	-	5
Forres, Fortrose, Inverness, Nairn	-	3
Bamff, Cullen, Elgin, Inverury, Kintore	-	5
Aberbrothock, Aberdeen, Brechin, Montrose	-	5
St. Andrew, Cupar, Dundee, Forfar, Perth	-	5
Anstruther Easter and Wester, Kilrunny, Pittenween		5
Bruntisland, Dyfart, Kinghorn, Kirkaldy	-	4
Dunfermline, Culrofs, Inverkeithing, Queensfery, Stirling		4
Dumbarton, Glasgow, Renfrew, Rutherglen	-	4
Berwick, Dunbar, Haddington, Jedburgh, Lauder	-	5
Lanerk, Linlithgow, Peebles, Selkirk	-	4
Annan, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Lochmaben, Sanquhar		5
Galloway, Stranraer, Whithorn, Wigton	-	4
Ayr, Cambellton, Inverary, Irvine, Rothsay	-	5

The shires of Bute and Caithness act alternately, also Nairn and Cromarty, and Clackmanan and Kinross. The number of electors in Bute is 10, Clackmanan 15, and Nairn 20.

With respect to the interest or influence in the counties and boroughs of Scotland, it is of a very complex nature; and is often managed by an ideal transfer of property, and the right of voting; which are abuses, greater, if possible, than those in England.

COPY OF A NOTE ADDRESSED TO LORD GRENVILLE BY
M. DE CHAUVELIN, DATED 18TH JUNE, 1792.

“ The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of the French, has transmitted to his Majesty the official note which Lord Grenville addressed to him the 29th of May last, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, in answer to that which he had the honour to transmit to him on the 15th of the same month, and likewise the royal proclamation published in consequence. He has received orders to transmit to his British Majesty the expressions of the sensibility of the King to those amicable dispositions, and those sentiments of humanity, justice, and peace, so strikingly manifested in this answer.

“ The King of the French, fully sensible of the value of these expressions, in return renews to the King of Great Britain, the formal assurance, that whatever may interest the rights of his Britannic Majesty will continue to be to him an object of the most particular and the most scrupulous attention.

“ He hastens in the mean time to declare, conformably to the desire expressed in the answer, that the rights of all the allies of Great Britain, who shall not have provoked France by hostile measures, shall be no less religiously observed by him.

“ In making, or rather renewing, this declaration, the King of the French enjoys the double satisfaction of expressing the sentiments of a people in whose eyes every war, which is not necessary for lawful defence, is essentially unjust; and of concurring particularly in the wishes of his Britannic Majesty for the tranquillity of Europe, which would never be interrupted if France and England united to maintain it.

“ But this declaration of the King, and the sentiments of his Britannic Majesty, authorise him to hope that he will zealously employ his good offices with those same allies, to prevent them from granting to the enemies of France, directly or indirectly, any assistance; and to inspire them with respect to its rights, that is to say, its independence, with the same regard which France is ready, on every occasion, to testify for the rights of all those powers who shall observe towards her a strict neutrality.

“ The measures which the Court of Vienna has employed with different powers, and chiefly with the allies of his Britannic Majesty, to engage them in a quarrel foreign to their interests, are known to all Europe. If public report may be credited, the same success which it has already had in the Court of Berlin, may likewise be expected with the United Provinces.

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The menaces employed to different Members of the Germanic Body, to draw them from that prudent neutrality, which their political situation and their dearest interests prescribe to them; the engagements taken with different Sovereigns of Italy to determine them to adopt hostilities against France; and, in fine, the intrigues which have armed Russia against the Constitution of Poland, all afford new proofs of a great conspiracy against Free States, which seems intended to plunge Europe into a general war.

“ The consequences of such a conspiracy, formed by a combination of powers so long rivals, will easily be perceived by his Britannic Majesty.

“ The balance of Europe, the independence of its different States, the general peace, all which at every period has engrossed the attention of the English government, is at present threatened with the most imminent danger.

“ The King of the French presents these weighty and important considerations to the attention and friendship of his Britannic Majesty. Deeply sensible of those marks of interest and affection which he has received from him, he invites him to employ in his wisdom, in his present situation, and in the plenitude of his influence, the means compatible with the independence of the French nation, to stop, while it may yet be effected, the progress of this combination, which threatens equally the peace, the liberty, and the happiness of Europe; and particularly to prevent, from acceding to this combination, those of his allies whom they may wish to draw into it, or even those who may already have been engaged in it, by fear, artifice, and the different pretexes of a policy equally false and detestable.

(Signed)

“ The Minister Plenipotentiary of France,

“ CHAUVELIN,”

COPY OF THE ANSWER OF LORD GRENVILLE TO THE
ABOVE.

“ The undersigned Secretary of State to the King, had the honour to submit to his Majesty the note which M. Chevaulin addressed to him on the 18th of June.

“ The King always receives with the same sensibility, on the part of his Most Christian Majesty, the assurance of his friendship, and his wishes for the maintenance of that happy harmony subsisting between the two Empires. His Majesty never will refuse to concur for the preservation, or re-establishment
of

of the peace of Europe, by the means most proper to produce that effect, consistent with his own dignity, and with the principles which direct his conduct. But those same sentiments which have engaged him not to interfere in the internal affairs of France, equally tend to induce him to respect the rights of independence of other Sovereigns, and particularly those of his allies; and his Majesty is of opinion, that, in the present circumstances of the war, the interference of his councils, or of his good offices, cannot be useful, at least, till it be desired by all the parties concerned.

“ It only remains then to the undersigned, to repeat to M. Chauvelin the assurances of the wishes entertained by his Majesty for the return of tranquillity; of the interest he always will take in the happiness of his Most Christian Majesty, and of the value with which he regards the expressions of his friendship and confidence.

(Signed)

“ GRENVILLE.”

Whitehall, July 8, 1792.

AFFAIRS OF FRANCE, &c.

BRUSSELS, *June 20.*

The Wallachians, who arrived here the day before yesterday, on hearing that the contending armies were in sight of each other, demanded with the greatest energy to be led the next day to join. They are a sort of half savages, whose rugged appearance announces but too much asperity of character. It was necessary to promise them that they should stop no longer than was necessary to refresh and equip them, after a march of more than 500 leagues.

Some of them prefer marching barefoot to the incumbrance shoes and stockings.

DECLA-

DECLARATION

MADE IN THE NAME OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING
OF PRUSSIA, TO THE STATES OF THE CIRCLE OF
FRANCONIA.

“ His Majesty the King of Prussia, my most gracious Sovereign, could not, in his quality of co-director and a State of the Circle of Franconia, give a more real and positive proof of the lively interest he takes in its prosperity, than by turning his attention not only to the danger with which all the empire, and consequently that circle, is threatened, but also to the measures already taken in order to remove it, as well as those which have appeared both to himself and to the Court of Hungary necessary to be taken for the same object. The crown of France, among other pretences for declaring war against the present Chief of the Austrian Monarchy, and making an attack upon those territories of that Prince which border upon the empire, has likewise made use of that founded upon the protection which the Emperor Leopold II. of glorious memory, had, in his quality of Chief of the Empire, granted, in the most just and legal manner, to the Princes and States, landholders in Alsace and Lorraine. His Majesty the King of Prussia, as State of the Empire, and in virtue of those treaties, which unite him to the House of Austria, cannot refuse to march his army towards the Rhine, to cover and defend the frontiers of the empire: He is determined to this step the more, that, by so doing, he may give an unequivocal proof of his patriotism and solicitude for the good of the German nation. The example that he sets in this respect, authorises him to make a proposition which the other States of the Circle of Franconia will not fail to find conformable both to the constitution and the ancient association legally formed and legally confirmed with the then Circles; and that is, from a consideration of the danger which threatens the frontiers of the Empire, to attend to what the fœderal union of public safety concurs to dictate.

“ The King, in concert with his Hungarian Majesty, thinks himself so much more entitled to hope for a successful issue to his measures, as it is publicly known that the Circle of Franconia, in the persons of all its members, has demanded from the General Diet the assistance of the Empire and its head, has taken a direct part in the conclusion of the 6th of August respecting the affairs of Alsace, and has consequently furnished them with

ground for that pretext which they have employed for the unjust attack which they have made upon the Austrian monarchy. His Majesty thinks he needs not enter into a more ample detail of the greatness of the danger to which the Empire is exposed, and the extent of the social duties which unite the members of the Germanic Constitution, he leaves that topic to the consideration and reflection of the other States, as the smallest retrospect to the events of the past must quickly put the matter out of doubt. That retrospect will of itself be sufficient to convince them, that their security and independence render it indispensably necessary for them to renew, upon this occasion, the ancient associations that have always subsisted with the other Circles of the Empire, and to establish an immediate communication with them for this purpose; and that without any loss of time: And, in imitation of what has been so laudably done by the Circle of Suabia, they should provide for the public force and means of defence in proportion to the exigencies of the moment, and conformably to what has been agreed and determined upon this point by his late Imperial Majesty and by the Empire. The generous example of the King, and the patriotic sentiments of his Apostolic Majesty, the ties of the German Fœderation, the repose and security of Germany, present to the Princes and States of the Circle of Franconia such numerous and forcible motives, as render it unnecessary to add any thing in recommendation of the proposition now made.

“It is sufficient then to add, that, in order to give weight to the proposed association, and to accelerate the happy attainment of its object, his Majesty, as far as depends upon himself, will exert his utmost endeavours, and likewise employ all the influence which he derives from his connections with other States.

(Signed)

“SODEN.”

Nuremberg, May 26, 1792.

PARIS, June 7.

The Abbé Lamourette, Bishop of Lyons, was heard. He forcibly stated the necessity of a frank and cordial re-union of all the Members of the Legislative Body, and shewed that on such a re-union alone depended the maintenance of the rights of the people, and the preservation of liberty. There exist, said he, two distinct parties in the Assembly: These parties both accuse one another; the one of wishing for a republican form of government, the other of meditating the establishment of two chambers. Let us renounce our passions—let us be united—we thus shall become strong; our union will be more formidable to our enemies than all the cannons which guard our frontiers. Let us give a great example to all Europe, and inspire our enemies with terror; there is nothing incompatible except vice and virtue. I move that the President fix a day to put the following proposition to the vote: “Let all who hold in detestation a republic, and the two chambers, rise.”

Scarcely had these last words been pronounced, when the two sides rose, threw up their hats, and stretched forth their arms. Loud applauses were heard from every quarter. Each side approached its opponents, the two mingled together, and exchanged embraces; signs of the utmost harmony and concord prevailed; the two parties swore an immortal union, and took their seats promiscuously.

M. Emmery proposed immediately to carry the minutes of this sitting to the King.

The deputation sent to the King returned.

The Bishop of Lyons said, “Conformable to the order of the National Assembly, we waited on the King in his apartment. His Majesty, after hearing the extract from the minutes read, replied to us, that it was impossible for him to receive news more dear to his heart, more conformable to his sentiments; and that he yielded to his urgent desire of coming to testify to the Assembly all the joy with which this union inspired him.”

This intimation was received with universal applause. The King immediately entered the Hall, attended by his Ministers. Acclamations of *Vive le Roi! Vive la Liberte!* resounded from every quarter.

His Majesty having seated himself by the President, said,

“GENTLEMEN,

“The act the most affecting to me is that of the union of all wills for the safety of our country. I have long wished for this fortunate moment; my wish is now accomplished. I come to declare to you in person, that the nation and the King are but

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one. If their exertions are directed to the same object, their united efforts will save France. Attachment to the Constitution will unite all Frenchmen—of this attachment the King will always set them an example.” [Universal plaudits, with repeated shouts of *Vive le Roi!*]

The President answered—

“SIRE,

“The memorable epoch that brings you into the midst of the Delegates of the People, is a signal of joy to the friends of liberty, and of terror to its enemies. The harmony of the constituted powers will give to the French nation the force of which she stands in need, to dissipate the league of tyrants conspired against her independence and her Constitution; and she already sees in the candour of your proceedings the omen of her successes.”

All the Members, and the strangers who filled the galleries, exclaimed, with one voice, *Vive la Nation, vive le Roi.*

The King again said, “I was sorry, Gentlemen, to be obliged to wait for a deputation, for it occasioned a considerable delay to my coming among you.”

This was followed by new bursts of applause.

LETTER FROM THE KING.

Paris, July 7, 4th Year of Liberty.

“The resolution of the department, which suspends provisionally the Mayor and the Procureur of the Commons of Paris, has just been transmitted to me. This resolution being founded on facts that concern me personally, my first feeling upon it is to request the National Assembly to decide upon the whole business.

(Signed)

“LOUIS.

(Counterigned)

“DEJOLY.”

M. Lafource observed, that it was not in the power of the Assembly to release the Executive Power from doing its duty, as directed by the Constitution. The King was bound to decide on the suspension of any municipal officer before an appeal was made to the Legislative Body. On these grounds, he moved the order of the day, which was voted unanimously.

The following are the most material parts of the decree, by which the department of Paris have suspended M. Petion.

“The Mayor of Paris and the Procureur de la Commune are provisionally suspended from their functions; and the Council General shall name a municipal officer to execute *par interim* the functions of Mayor.

“The Council refers to the tribunals the Mayor of Paris,
and

and those municipal officers, who shall be charged with having changed, or removed the guards from the different posts of the Thuilleries, for which the procès-verbals and the pieces which concern them, shall be remitted to the justices of the peace for the section of the Thuilleries. The Attorney-General Syndic shall also announce the facts in accusation against M. Santerre, commander of a battalion, and against the lieutenant of cannoneers of Val du Grace.

“ The Council recommends expressly to the municipality to prevent and dissipate by all legal means any tumultuous meetings.”

The other parts of the decree relate to the admission of strangers into the Parisian National Guards, and to the abuse of the national arms against the safety of the King's house.

The Council was composed of twenty-four members, of whom twenty-one voted for this decree.

M. Petion, on the contrary, published the following address:

“ *M. Petion to his fellow Citizens,*

“ The department has just pronounced judgment on the events of the 20th of June, and I am suspended from the exercise of my functions. Receive this decision, as I do, with coolness and indifference. Soon a superior authority will decide; and I trust that innocence will be vindicated in the only manner worthy of it—by the law.

(Signed)

“ PETION.”

On the 9th of July, the National Assembly decreed, “ that the Ministers should give an account in the next sitting, of the state of the kingdom, with respect to its safety, as well exterior as interior.

In the next sitting, it was stated, that three foreign armies were upon their march to the frontiers, to which France was immediately able to oppose 45,000 men in the army of the North; 50,000 in that of the Center; 55,000 in the army of the Rhine; and 40,000 in that of the South. M. Joly, at the conclusion of this account, announced, that all the Ministers had given in their resignations!

From the report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, it appeared, that the empires of Germany and Russia, the Courts of Turin, Naples, Rome, Spain, and Portugal, had evidently conspired against France. Switzerland, Holland, and England, had preserved a neutrality.

The following was the King's letter upon the resignation of the Ministers.

“ MR. PRESIDENT,

“ All the Ministers have given in their resignation, as they announced, this morning, to the National Assembly. I am

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employed

employed in filling their posts, and, in the mean while, they retain their functions.

(Signed)

“ LOUIS.”

The Assembly was considerably agitated by this intelligence, but no measures were adopted upon it.

On the 10th, the military and diplomatic committees, with the extraordinary committee of twelve, were ordered to give in reports upon the question, whether it was necessary or not to declare the country in danger.

On the 11th, M. Herault de Sechelles, speaking in the name of the three committees, recommended the declaration, that the country was in danger. After some debates upon the manner, the Assembly agreed to the declaration; and the President, rising in the midst of the most profound silence, pronounced the concise and solemn formula before determined upon :

“ Citizens, the country is in danger.”

The following decree was then passed ;

“ Let those, who would obtain the honour of marching first to defend what is most dear to them, remember always, that they are French and are free ; let their fellow-citizens maintain in their homes the safety of persons and properties ; let the Magistrates of the People watch attentively over both ; let all, with a tranquil courage, the attribute of true strength, wait the signal of the law to act, and the country will be saved.”

The Assembly also decreed the following addresses :

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE FRENCH ARMY.

“ BRAVE WARRIORS,

“ The Assembly have just proclaimed the danger of the country ; that measure proclaims the strength of the empire ; announces, that speedily the young French will appear under the colours of liberty ! instructs you to conquer, and shews you the road to glory. Upon the signal of the country's danger, you feel your ardour redouble. Warriors, let discipline direct your conduct ; she alone can guarantee victory. Have the cool and tranquil courage, which the sentiment of your strength should give you. A real army is an immense body put in motion by one head. It can do nothing without a passive subordination of ranks, from the soldier to the General. Warriors, imitate the obedience of d'Assas, and the courage of the brave Pic. Deserve the honour, which the country reserves for those who fight for her ; they shall be worthy of her and of you.

“ Forget

“ Forget not, that it is your constitution, which is attacked. It is wished to make you descend from the glorious rank of a free people. Well, brave warriors, the constitution must triumph, or the French nation must be covered with irremediable shame. On all sides your fellow-citizens prepare themselves to second you. Doubt not, that there is no Frenchman, who hesitates; there is none, who in the day of danger, or of glory, will dishonour his life by a cowardly and shameful inaction. Unhappy will he be, who cannot, one day, say to his children, to his fellow-citizens, “ I also fought, when our liberty was attacked; I was in the battle when the French armies triumphed over our enemies: I defended the ramparts of the town, which they attacked in vain; and my blood flowed, on that day, for the country, for liberty and equality.”

ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH.

“ Your constitution relies upon the principles of eternal justice. A league of Kings is formed to destroy it; their battalions advance; they are numerous, submitted to a rigorous discipline; and, for a long time, exercised in the arts of war. Do you not feel a noble ardour inflame your courage! Will you suffer, that foreign hords shall spread, like a destructive torrent over your country! That they shall ravage your harvests, desolate your houses by fire and murder, and, in one word, that they shall load you with chains tainted with the blood of those, whom you hold most dear!

“ Our armies are not yet compleated; an imprudent security has but too much moderated the ardour of patriotism; the levies prescribed have not entirely had the success which your representatives wished. Interior troubles increase the difficulty of our situation, and our enemies abandon themselves to absurd hopes, which are an outrage upon you.

“ Hasten, citizens, love liberty, and avenge your glory.

“ The National Assembly declares, that the country is in danger,

“ Do not, however, believe, that this declaration is the effect of any terror, unworthy of themselves and of you. You have taken the oath *to live free, or die*. The Assembly know, that you will adhere to it, and they will shew you the example; but it is not enough to brave death, it is necessary to conquer; and you may conquer, if you abjure your hatreds, if you forget your political dissensions; if you all rally to the common cause; if you watch, with indefatigable activity, the enemies without; if you prevent all disorders and the individual violence, which they excite; if, assuring in the kingdom the empire of the laws, and answering, by regulated movements,

ments, to the country which calls upon you, you fly to the frontiers and to our camps, with the generous enthusiasm of liberty, and a profound sentiment of the duties of citizen-soldiers.

" French, who, for some years, have struggled against liberty, we advise you of your dangers, to invite you to the efforts necessary for surmounting them. We shew you the precipice ; what glory will attend you, when you shall have passed it ! Nations contemplate you. Astonish them by the majestic display of our strength, and of a great character ; of union ; respect for the laws ; immoveable courage, and speedily victory shall crown the altar of liberty with her palms ; the people now armed against our constitution shall become ambitious to be united with us in the bonds of sweet fraternity ; and, consolidating by a glorious peace, the basis of your government, you will gather at length all the fruits of the Revolution, and you will have prepared by your happiness, that of posterity."

July 16.

This day M. Manuel who had been suspended with M. Petion, was restored. M. Petion who had been restored some days ago, this day addressed his fellow-citizens, assuring them in the strongest terms of his unalterable fidelity and firmest attachment to the laws, the constitution, and the country.

On the 14th of July in the evening, M. Luckner unexpectedly arrived at Paris, for the purpose, as he said, of consulting the King and the Minister at War, upon the state of his army, and of the plan of operations. M. de la Fayette also arrived at Paris a few hours before. M. de la Fayette was taken very little notice of, and he returned to the army a few days afterwards. But of M. Luckner, the following letter to the National Assembly was read on the 17th :

LETTER FROM MARESCHAL LUCKNER TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

" M. PRESIDENT,

Paris, July 17.

" I received yesterday, by the Minister at War, the official communication of the Decree, importing that I shall this day give an account to the National Assembly of the orders I have received and given, relative to the operations of the campaign to the present date ; and that I shall at the same time present a statement of all that is necessary to assure the success of our future operations.

" This

" This account, which, as General of the French army, it is my duty to render only to the King, the Supreme Chief of the army, and to the Minister charged to transmit me legally his orders, is contained in the correspondence of the Ministers with me, of which the Assembly has desired the communication, and in the registers of my *Etat Major*, which I have not just now at hand. All those objects, purely military, have an important connexion with the subsequent operations of the campaign, which prudence and duty command me to keep secret. It is not for the National Assembly to examine what, in the direction of the war, is absolutely foreign to the functions of the Assembly, but what the Constitution allows it to take cognisance of, by calling for information from the Minister at War. He has already had the honour of informing the Assembly that I am come here, by an order of the King, to confer with his Majesty on our system of defence. I have also concerted with the Minister the different notes which I subjoin to this letter, relative to the Decrees which the Assembly may pass for the amelioration of the army.

" To the demand made to me by the decree of ' All that is necessary to assure the success of our future operations,' I shall answer—that we must desire a great augmentation of forces—a re-union of means; that these seem to be promised us by the protestations of civic zeal and warlike enthusiasm, which often resound within the walls of the National Assembly; but that hitherto these brilliant hopes have not been realised; that the army is still incomplete, deficient in number of corps, and by no means recruited; that if the Assembly lose a moment in reinforcing it, by all the decrees which it belongs to the Legislative Body to pass, founded on the considerations presented by experience, our forces will be in an immense disproportion to those of our enemies. To verify these melancholy truths which I owe to the National Assembly, and which secrecy has permitted me to explain with still less reserve to the King, I wish earnestly that the Assembly could find a constitutional mode of satisfying itself by its own proper enquiries, and I leave to its wisdom the choice of such a mode.

" I will embrace the occasion which the Assembly has offered me, of presenting the homage of my respect for the constituted authorities. The Assembly will always find me, what I have always been, the enemy of factions, a stranger to intrigues, inviolably attached to the Constitution and the King, whom I will defend by all the means in my power; and profoundly convinced, that the union of all good citizens, of which the Generals give, and will not cease to give, the example, can alone save France.

(Signed)

" LUCKNER."

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The notes subjoined to this letter contained in substance, that the four armies on the frontiers, after leaving sufficient garrisons in the several places, could not muster above 70,000 men; that the King had appointed the Marechal Commandant-General of the two armies of the centre and the Rhine; the former he should probably command in person, and the latter by M. Biron, as his Lieutenant-General. These two armies would have to oppose 200,000 Austrians, Prussians, and Hessians, with from 20 to 30,000 emigrants, and could not at present bring into the field more than 40,000 men. To make up this alarming deficiency, he proposed that all the municipalities in the kingdom should be bound to furnish instantly one with another according to their population at the rate of three men each, armed and clothed, which would make an augmentation of 132,000 men. He observed that the non-commissioned officers and privates in the field were now well instructed in their duty, and that new levies incorporated with them would soon be good soldiers. Raising recruits ought to be enforced with vigour, and if necessary by compulsion; for notwithstanding all that had yet been done to forward this part of the service, twenty men had not been raised for the last two months. He proposed also, that he should be allowed to levy a legion to be called by his own name, which, from the proofs of personal attachment he had received from the citizens of Paris, he was confident would be complete in a very few days.

On the 18th of July, the National Assembly decreed, that the following persons were guilty of High Treason:

Conway, marechal de camp, general en chef du camp de Jales	Labastide, idem Champvallier Pellet de Graviere
Portolio, officier de genie	Legallier officiere municipal de St. Brice
Roux de Saint-Victor	Graffau capitaine
Le chevalier de Melon	Platon, commandant des gar- des nationales de Vallon
Batel	Souchon, pretre
Allier, prieur-cure de Cham- bonas, president du comite Jales	Quericot, pretre
Petrochon sedisant directeur- general de l'armee	Benitier, mair de Pompignant
Pierre Serrant, negociant a Montpellier	Saunier, ci-devant prieur de- Cognac
Lamoureux de Sommiervres	Julien, ci-devant prieur de- Saint-Chas
Mess, se disant membre du comite central de Jales	Couwai, colonel de la garde nationale de Gravier.

Allier

Allier, membre de la confederation de Jales	Coste, depute de Joyeuse a Jales
Voisin, che. de la cournone.	Poisson, idem
Polchet	Lanat, idem
Coulon, chirurgien-major de l'armée de Jales	Sallet, idem
De Roux de Sainte Croix, officier aux chasseurs de Roussillon	Laloze, idem
Montfort, idem	Verac, idem
Dupart, secretaire du comite central de Jales	Joseph Ginoux, idem
Lazutte, medecin a Montpellier	Ginoux
Volant, prieur cure de St. Sauveur	Degrasse, commandant de St. Sauveur
Firmin	La demoiselle Perrochon
Ducros, maire de Berias	La Sieur Leblond
Valade, maire	Pages
Laroche	l'abbé de Bérin
Mazuyer, depute de Barjac a Jales	Aubert, ci-devant prieur de Marran
Roland, commandant de la garde nationale de Saint-Andre	Perron, commandant de la garde nationale de Mendes
Roman, lieutenant de la garde nationale	Labastide, capitaine dans le legion de Mendes
	D'Alegre
	Queylar
	Serrant.

ON THE 19TH OF JULY, THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM M. DUMOURIER WERE READ BY ONE OF THE SECRETARIES:

Valenciennes, July 18, 1792, the 4th year of Liberty.

"MR. PRESIDENT,

"Not knowing whether there be a Minister at War, I thought it my duty to write to the National Assembly, to inform them of some disagreeable circumstances which the departure of M. Luckner has given birth to, and of the actual state of the first division of his army. The enemy are establishing themselves in Bavay; this night they have commanded 800 men from the neighbouring villages to fortify it.

"I address to the King as well as to you, Mr. President, 1st, my letter to M. La Fayette; 2dly, my observations on the critical position I am now in; 3dly, a letter from the Director of

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the District of Quesnoy, which proves how little care and order there are in our movements. I swear to you, Mr. President, on the danger of the country, that I am in hopes of restoring order, and repulsing the enemy, at least as often as I shall be commanded to defend this Department, in which I was born, and whose confidence I possess. I am certain I shall receive from the Representatives of the Nation the most speedy assistance in men and money, to augment the brave army, at the head of which I am accidentally placed, which shew me a confidence as honourable as it is useful, inasmuch as it encreases my own.

"I have this moment received advice from Douay, that a large body are assembling near Tournay, to attack my camp at Maulde; it must be exceedingly strong to dispossess me of my post, and I flatter myself they will not succeed, especially if they commence their attack before the 20th.—I am rather inclined to disbelieve the information, and to imagine it to have been communicated in order to make me quit my ground. So far from this, it is Maulde I shall make my head quarters, because I am more within reach of their movements.

"I am impatient to receive the speediest answer to my memoir, and also such orders as shall relate to me personally, for I am only here *ad interim*, unless the King should alter the first disposition of the armies."

LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DUMOURIER
TO M. LA FAYETTE, DATED JULY 18, 1792, AT
SIX O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING:

"SIR,

"You will judge by the correspondence of M. Delanoue, and by the documents which I now send you, that it is impossible for M. Delanoue to quit Maubeuge to relieve me; and even if he could execute that order, which it was very natural for you to give, not knowing how we are circumstanced, I could not set out before the 20th, because my division is the principal strength of the camp at Maulde, which alone can save us. I shall therefore engage M. Delanoue, if he should arrive, to go and rejoin his camp at Maubeuge, and I will remain here with my division, as long as there is an absolute necessity for it. I have sent an account hereof to the King, to the National Assembly, and to General Luckner.

"Far from diminishing the small body of the army which is to defend this quarter, I am taking measures for assembling near Valenciennes, whether at Maulde or elsewhere, according
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to the movements of the enemy, all the forces I can draw from the garrisons; to which I shall add what may arrive from Paris, if the National Assembly, from the magnitude of the danger, shall judge proper to send a necessary re-inforcement.

"If M. Arthur Dillon arrive, I shall put myself under his orders; but I shall not quit the Department of the North, till I shall be enabled to do it without danger to the country. Reflect, Sir, that if I had taken away the battalions and the five squadrons with which I was to depart the 20th, the whole resource remaining in the Department would have been only 7000 infantry, and two squadrons of the 6th regiment of dragoons, amounting to near 300 men, to oppose from 25,000 to 30,000 men, who are before our garrisons, which are sparingly supplied with troops, provisions, and warlike ammunition.

"By the assemblage which is to take place near Valenciennes, there will be a small body of an army of twenty-four battalions and eleven squadrons, forming a camp of 15,000 men, to cover the fortifications, and stop the plan and progress of the enemy. I doubt not, but the National Assembly will reinforce this body, with which I am going to act, in rendering you an account of my motions. I dare say you will deem it necessary to reinforce the intrenched camp at Maubeuge with the greatest possible celerity, at least to 8,000 or 10,000 men; in which case I would operate a junction with M. Delanoue, where we shall concert the measures necessary to be taken to stop the march of the enemy.

"I herewith subjoin the plan of our assembling, concerted with M. Labourdonnaye. I have also annexed my sentiments on the enemy's plans, and the possibility of their being affecting. I thought it necessary, Sir, that you should make known to the Lieutenant-General of the northern army, your position, your force, and your plans of defence, as well as those of the enemy, its force and its position. The Belgians are assembling with great zeal in the camp at Maulde; there will be from 700 to 800 there in two days. I cannot but press the obtaining of the funds for the augmentation of this corps, and I will take upon myself to order the levy of the free companies. We can do nothing without light troops. You see by the letter from the District of Quesnoy, how they have neglected the first precautions, and how they have put the troops on the march without having provided the means for their subsistence.

(Signed) "DUMOURIER."

Several debates in the National Assembly having happened on M. de la Fayette's conduct in leaving the army and coming to Paris; some strong charges were made against him on that

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account,

account, and he was in several addresses to the Assembly denounced a traitor. On the 22d of July, eight or nine Members insisted upon impeaching M. de la Fayette, and particularly contended, that the Assembly ought to verify the heavy charge against Fayette, viz. that of having proposed to Marshal Luckner, to march his troops to Paris.

M. Guadet said, that General Luckner having had an opportunity of explaining himself concerning this fact, at the house of the Bishop of Paris, in his presence, as well as that of five of his colleagues, he had made answer in such a manner, that perceiving a strict connection with the events which had just happened, he thought it his duty to commit it to writing.

M. Guadet read that part of General Luckner's conversation. Having asked the General if it were true, that it had been proposed to him to march to Paris, after the event of the 20th of June, he answered in these words: "I do not deny it; it was M. Bureaux-Pusy, who, I believe, was three times President of the National Assembly.—I answered, I will only march against the enemy abroad; La Fayette is the master of doing what he pleases; but if he marches towards Paris, I will march towards him, and give him a drubbing."

On the same evening M. Luckner left Paris, and returned to his command, after paying a short visit to Alsace. During his stay at Paris, he was beset by all parties, to whose intrigues a temper too open and easy exposed him.

In consequence of the decree, *that the country was in danger*, the following proclamation was made in all parts of Paris with great solemnity, procession, and ceremony. And it was heard by the people with the most awful and affecting attention.

THE KING'S PROCLAMATION

ON THE 20TH OF JULY, ON THE DANGERS TO WHICH
THE COUNTRY IS EXPOSED.

"CITIZENS,

"*Our country is in danger.*—The National Assembly has declared it: The law has assigned every one his proper post: The King presses you to repair to it: The country, our common mother, call upon all her children; and they will not surely be deaf to her voice. Your property and your persons are at stake; the safety of what is dearest to you, your mothers, your wives, your children is in danger. Frenchmen, your constitution and your liberty are at stake.

"It is no longer the time of deliberations and speeches, it is that of glorious actions. Europe is in league against you—
unite

unite yourselves, to be able to repel their efforts. Legions of foes threaten the barriers of the empire: It is subordination—it is confidence in your leaders, that you must oppose to the discipline and blind obedience which constitute the strength of your enemies. It is the unalterable union of all good citizens that we have to oppose to the union of the powers in league against us. Your enemies are experienced in war, and inured to combats: You have, in advantage over them, the great interests of your own cause to defend; you have the passion for liberty, which exalts a man above himself, and transforms him into a hero. But the time is precious; hasten to repair to your standards. Fly into the country and to the frontiers, and remember that when the State is in danger, every citizen is a soldier; and that the devoted service of the most generous becomes no longer a virtue, but a duty.

“All the citizens in the empire will doubtless be ambitious of seeing their name inscribed in the list of the *well deserving of their country*. The whole kingdom will be overspread with citizens subject to the laws, united together in the indissoluble bands of concord, and by their attachment to a constitution to which they have all taken a solemn oath of fidelity.

“Administrators! magistrates! warriors! citizens! this is the moment to extinguish, in a brotherly sentiment of reconciliation and peace, the dissensions and hatreds that have hitherto divided and weakened you. This is the moment to establish freedom upon an eternal foundation, in establishing the empire of the laws; without which, all is confusion, disorder, and misery—all anarchical tyranny, a thousand times more intolerable than even that of despotism.

“The law places you all in a state of perpetual inspection. Avail yourselves of the privilege, in order to give weight to authority, and springs to government.—Avail yourselves of it for, the re-establishment of good order, for the succour of France; which cannot make head unless all powers, all inclinations, all courage unite for its salvation. It is the King who calls to you—a King proud of commanding a free people, who, in the name of the liberty that he loves, and of the equality which, like you, he is determined to maintain, conjures you to rally under the standard of the country, to assist him in giving *force to the laws*; against the foes within and without: To swear with him to conquer or to die for the rights of the nation: And to bury them rather under the ruins of the empire than suffer its dignity to be insulted; that strangers or rebels should give laws to France; or, by yielding to a disgraceful capitulation, to tarnish the honour of the French name.

" Under these considerations, the King, participating the solicitude of the Assembly, who, by the act of the 11th of the present month, have declared the country to be in danger; thoroughly convinced that the moment in which the public liberty is menaced, is that in which it is most necessary to recal the citizens and magistrates to the exact observance of the laws which guarantee it; and especially the decree of the 8th inst. which ascertains the measures to be taken when the country is in danger. His Majesty is anxious to recapitulate anew the duties which these different laws impose upon the French nation.

" Art. I.—His Majesty invites all citizens who are able to bear arms, and such especially who have had the honour to serve their country, of what rank soever they might have been, to enlist themselves immediately, in order to make good the compliment of the army of troops of the line.

" Art. II.—Invites all citizens who possess the requisite qualifications, and who are not yet enrolled in the national guard, to enrol themselves forthwith.

" Art. III.—Enjoins all administrative bodies, and all the municipalities, to put the law of the 8th of this month, relating to the formation of the battalions of national guards destined for the defence of the State, instantly in force.

" Art. IV.—Recommends to them to instruct the citizens in the particular duties which the present circumstances of things require at their hands, to animate their zeal, and to excite them to rush forward, wherever the dangers of their country may call them.

" Art. V.—Recommends to them likewise to neglect nothing that may accelerate the armament, and march of the troops; and to do every thing in their power to further such purpose.

" Art. VI.—Exhorts the citizens, who shall obtain the honour of marching the first to the succour of their country, to subordination to their chiefs; to regularity of conduct in the service; to zeal worthy of the noble cause which they are called upon to defend; and to honour the French name as much by their humanity towards their conquered enemies, as by their courage in combating with them.

" Art. VII.—Exhorts likewise the citizens, that remain for the defence of the internal parts of the kingdom, to give proofs of their patriotism, in performing personal service, in maintaining the safety of citizens and property; the execution of justice; and the respect due to constituted authority.

" Art. VIII.—Recals to the mind of all public officers, the obligation of residence which the law imposes upon them, and which the perils of the State render more indispensable. Enjoins his

his Commissaries of tribunals, the Syndic Solicitor-Generals of Departments, and the Syndic Solicitors of Districts, to keep up each in his particular station the strict observance of this law, and to inform against all infractions made therein.

“ Art. IX.—Recommends, lastly, to all administrators and other public officers, both civil and military, to redouble their ardour and assiduity in the exercise of their functions; and to all citizens to remember, that it is by making every sacrifice, and shewing an inviolable respect for the laws, that they can approve themselves worthy of liberty. Ordains, that the present Proclamation be sent to the administrative and judiciary bodies, printed, read, published, and advertised all over the kingdom.

“ *Done in Council of State the 20th of July, 1792, the Fourth Year of Liberty,*

(Signed)

(Counter-signed)

“ LOUIS.

“ DE JOLY.”

The preceding proclamation was made in consequence of the following declaration having been published throughout Germany, &c,

COUNTER DECLARATION OF THE COURT OF VIENNA AGAINST FRANCE.

“ The result confirms what the Court of Vienna has foreseen and foreboded, that those who actually reign in France, being willing first to provoke the nation to arm, and then to a rupture with the late Emperor, after having availed themselves of the assemblies in the States of Treves, for pretences for the first-mentioned, fought pretences for a war in the answers which they compelled his Imperial Majesty to give. It was in vain that the Court of Vienna attempted to divert the effects of their inimical views, by unmasking, through repeated elucidations, the unlawfulness of all these accounts which successively followed one another in proportion as their deceitfulness was detected. These very pretences, these very endeavours of the Court of Vienna for preventing a rupture, are alledged as motives for the war which is declared against the King of Hungary and Bohemia in the name of his Most Christian Majesty and the French nation.

“ The first of these motives, is *the public protection granted to the French Emigrants.* When this protection was alledged, in order to give an appearance to the preparations of France in December last, it was only inasmuch as it extended to some States of the Empire, to the armed assemblies of the emigrants,
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and far from attributing these grievances to the Court of Vienna, its conduct had acquired, in this respect, public thanks on the part of the French Government. The present change of a motive for thanks into a motive for an attack, offers so great a contrast, that it saves the trouble of making any further observations.

“The Court of Vienna even used its best endeavours for causing the other German Princes, neighbours of France, to adopt a similar behaviour. By this means, the apparent motives of its menacing preparations disappeared. In order to continue them, a fresh pretence of grievance and reproach was required. It was found in the existence of a concert between the late Emperor and several powers, *for maintaining the public tranquillity and honour of the Crowns*.”

“The real circumstances of that concert were completely known to all Europe. All the world knew that it was caused through the violences offered to his Most Christian Majesty, followed by the imprisonment of that Monarch; that, on the first hopes of his having recovered the essential degree of liberty, safety, and command, which is requisite for putting the seal of legality on the constitutional laws of a Monarchical State, the said concert, from an active one, such as it was, was, through the representation of the Court of Vienna, changed into a passive one, which was no longer to be put into activity by measures, unless France should fall again into the same state of disorder and popular violence, which, according to the notions of all states from time immemorial, represent a state of anarchy. The moderation of the powers that formed this concert, was thus conformable to the equity of their principles. The most simple ideas of a Monarchical Government entitled them to an union for assisting the lawful King of France, and securing from its utter ruin a form of government, whose basis being acknowledged and confirmed as inviolable by the new constitution itself, could not be hurt without the event of a manifest insurrection taking place.

“On the other hand, these powers were obliged, for their own safety, to oppose the introduction of a system of anarchy to propagate the pernicious principles of which, in all the states of Europe, the most dangerous means were then employing. In short, the maintenance of public tranquillity required their eventual union, in case one or other of them should be attacked; and it was chiefly relative to these last motives of the concert of powers, that the Court of Vienna, being attentive with good reason to the French warlike preparations and threats of an invasion, thought proper to remind France of the existence of such concert; in order to exhort it, not to provoke all the
sovereign

sovereign foreign Princes, by violences against one or the other of them.

“ Nothing, therefore, is plainer than the injustice of the reproach of attacking the independency and safety of the French nation; whereby this concert of the most considerable powers of Europe was injured, and which they do not fear of producing anew, although the very shade of misunderstanding and error concerning the nature of this concert has been dispersed by the declarations of the Court of Vienna. It mentioned in it the very terms of the remonstrances which were determined by its actual opening in the month of July, 1791, and the eventual adjournment till the month of November following.

“ From this it appeared in the most convincing manner that it merely depended on those who at present reign over France, to make this concert cease immediately, by respecting the tranquillity and the rights of other powers, and to guarantee the essential basis of the French monarchical form of government against the infringements of violence and anarchy. Every cause of uneasiness would have ceased, if such dispositions had prevailed in France; and the whole conduct of the Court of Vienna, far from justifying any blame of its views, would have evinced its ingenuousness and moderation.

“ Upon the invitation of the French Ministry, it had entirely withdrawn from the said declaration the claims of the German Princes having dominions in Alsace. And if the deceased Sovereign of Austria was unable to avoid fulfilling his duties as Emperor in this respect, nothing in the world shewed that he should prevent any conciliatory method which was indeed sufficient and compatible with the constitution of the empire, on objects in which Austria never was concerned itself in a direct manner, and for which reason it is the more unjust, actually to draw from this a particular motive for a war against her, whereas her present Sovereign has no greater concern in it than the other members of the German body.

On the other hand, the Court of Vienna has given the clearest proofs of the good faith of its dispositions, by refraining from accompanying its declarations by armaments adequate to the greatness of those that France supported her questions withal; whilst the latter assembled 130,000 men on the frontiers of the Low Countries and Germany, the Court of Vienna did not send a battalion more to its Belgian troops, whose reinforcements ever since 1790, have generally not exceeded 3 or 4000 men. All its measures were confined to augment its anterior Austrian troops with 4000 men, who, by this reinforcement were carried to 10,000 men; and it was

not till after the 14th of April that dispositions were made for sending more troops, when the offensive interpretation which the well-meaning declarations of the Court of Vienna met with, and the events which soon after happened in France, left no more doubt of the speedy explosion of an attack.

“The proposal reciprocally to disarm, delivered on the 11th of March, by the French Ambassador at Vienna, at a time when France alone had armed for a war, accompanied with a demand of quitting the concert of powers, in a moment when the position of that kingdom daily gave more and more uneasiness, could not in any respect be considered otherways than as an ultimate pretence for engaging the French nation in this attack, to which all the preceding steps had led, and the execution of which happened almost at the same period when the Ambassador delivered the declaration of war.

“Thus none of the grievances accumulated in the French declaration of war, without a single proof, has the least appearance of foundation and good faith, and of which the nullity was not already proved, except indeed, the new grievance which is added to it as an overplus of injustice, by upbraiding the Court of Vienna with the hopes it had entertained that the reason, the honour, and equity of the more sound and greater part of the nation would ultimately triumph, and the pains the Court of Vienna had taken to dispel prejudices unjustly excited, concerning the nature of the concert.

“The complaints alledged against the Court of Vienna, not only do not furnish the smallest apparent motive for an attack, but it is evident that they are so many objects of provocation and aggression committed by those who reign in France.

“They presume to blame the Court of Vienna for the protection it has refused at home, and caused to be denied elsewhere to the enterprizes and affairs of the French emigrants; they who did protect and foment the conspiracies for a rebellion in the Austrian Netherlands! Their confessions and public measures since the attack prove, that in the hope of succeeding in these treacherous actions and practices of the same kind, tending to seduce the faithful Austrian troops, their chief confidence was placed.

“It is they who excited a dispute between France and the German Empire, by depriving several German Princes of rights and enjoyments assured by a possession of a century and a half, grounded on solemn treaties. Their excuse against the obligatory force of these treaties, derived from a pretended inconsistency with later and spontaneous laws of one of the contracting parties, is grounded on a principle that overthrows all treaties. And that decree of the 14th of January, by which the

the National Assembly, setting up at the same time for judge and party, has assumed the power of passing an arbitrary sentence on the manner and sufficiency of a disposition which ought to be free among independent States, and is nothing else but one more attempt on the public right of nations.

"They, who for six months past were occupied in making preparations for war and attack on the frontiers of the Austrian Netherlands and Germany, complain of the very moderate precaution of the Court of Vienna for the safety of provinces that are upwards of 200 leagues distant from the centre of its dominions.

"They pretend that the Sovereignty of the French nation is injured by the establishment of a concert, whose first view has been to save the only lawful Sovereign of France, whilst they, in the mean while, daily attack and provoke all the Sovereigns of Europe in the most inconsiderate manner, and with the bitterest invectives. In short, they dispute with the crowns the participation and the right of interfering in, or being concerned about the consequences of their new Constitution, whilst they, with all their might, endeavour to subvert all governments, by spreading all over Europe the bane of seduction and insurrection.

"The King of Hungary and Bohemia is thus entitled to call in the support of all Europe, in a cause that concerns the honour and safety of all governments, and he arraigns the abettors of so unjust and heinous an attack before the tribunal of the universe and posterity, as being answerable for all the evils that are the unavoidable consequences of war."

Vienna, July 5, 1792.

Soon after the appearance of the above declaration, the two following State-papers appeared :

CONCISE EXPOSITION OF THE REASONS WHICH HAVE DETERMINED HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST FRANCE.

"His Prussian Majesty flatters himself, that the Powers of Europe, and the public in general, did not wait for this exposition to fix their opinion on the justice of the cause they are going to defend.

"In effect, unless the obligations which the engagements the King and his political connections require of him be willingly denied, or facts designed established ; and unless people shut their eyes on the conduct of the present government of France, there cannot remain a doubt, but every person may discover, that

the warlike measures which the King, with regret, has resolved upon, are only the natural consequences of the violent resolutions which the fury of the party who reigns in that kingdom has made him adopt, and of which it is easy to perceive the fatal consequences.

“ Not content with having openly violated, by notorious suppression, the rights and possessions of the German Princes in Alsace and Lorraine, and the treaties which unite France to the German empire; with having given course to the subversive principles of all social subordination, and thereby affected the repose and felicity of other nations, and with having sought to spread in other countries, by the propagation of these principles, the seeds of the licentiousness and anarchy which have overthrown France; with having tolerated, received, and sold, even the most outrageous writings and speeches against the sacred persons and legal authority of Sovereigns; those who have seized the reins of the French administration have, at length, filled the measure of their guilt by declaring an unjust war against his Majesty the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and have immediately followed this declaration with effective hostilities committed against the Belgic provinces of this Monarch.

“ The German empire, of which the Austrian Pays Bas is part, as the circle of Bourgogne, is necessarily found included in this aggression. But other facts still but too much justify the fear of hostile invasions, which the menacing preparations of the French on the frontiers have for a long time given birth to in Germany. The territories of the Bishop of Bale, an incontestible part of the empire, have been occupied by a detachment of the French army, and are remaining in its power, and at its discretion.

“ Incurfions of the troops of the same nation, or of rebel corps assembled under their auspices, have laid waste the country of Liege. It is to be foreseen with certainty, that, as soon as the conveniences of war appear to advise them, the other provinces of Germany will experience the same effects; and it suffices to know their local position, to feel for the imminent danger to which they are constantly exposed.

“ It would be superfluous to enter into a detail of the facts which are now alleged. They are notorious, and the whole empire has been, and is still, daily witnesses thereof.

“ It will also equally be dispensed with to discuss here the evident injustice of the aggression of the French.

“ If it were possible that any doubts could remain on this subject in the mind of any person whatever, they would be entirely removed by weighing with impartiality the unanswerable arguments

arguments contained on this point in the diplomatic pieces published by the cabinet of Vienna.

“ His Prussian Majesty has with pleasure entertained hopes, that at length, after so many agitations and inconsequential proceedings, the persons who direct the French Administration would return back to the principles of moderation and wisdom, and thereby avoid the extremities to which things are unfortunately come. It was with this salutary view, that at the commencement of the military preparations of France on the frontiers, founded on the asylum granted by some States to the French emigrants, that he charged Comte de Glotz, his Minister at Paris, to declare to the Ministry of his Most Christian Majesty (as the Charge des Affaires of his Majesty, the then reigning Emperor had also orders to do), ‘ That he looked upon an invasion of French troops on the territories of the German empire as a declaration of war, and would oppose it with all his forces.’ ”

“ The same Minister, after receiving orders, found the Charge des Affaires of his Majesty the Emperor, in a number of representations, making known in the most express manner, that the King was invariably pursuing the same line with his Apostolic Majesty respecting the affairs of France. The event has shewn how little the hope of the King, as to the effect he promised from these energetic declarations, was well founded; but at least the party whose furious determinations have brought on hostilities, can never have any pretence on account of their ignorance of his Majesty’s intentions. And it is particularly the general principles publicly manifested by the two National Assemblies—principles which attack all governments, and endeavour to shake them in their basis, that France has to blame for the effusion of human blood, and the evils which present circumstances have already brought, and may in future bring upon her.

“ United with his Apostolic Majesty by the ties of a close and defensive alliance, his Prussian Majesty cannot act contrary to his engagements, and remain a quiet spectator of the war declared against this Sovereign. He has not then hesitated to recal his Minister from Paris, and to act with vigour in defence of his ally.

“ As a principal member of the Germanic corps, he is further obligated by his relations in this quality to march to the succour of his co-estates against the attacks they have already experienced, and with which they are daily threatened. It is thus, under the double connection of ally of his Apostolic Majesty, and a powerful State of the empire, that his Majesty takes up arms; and it is the defence of the States of this monarch
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and of Germany which forms the first aim of these armaments.

“ But the King would but imperfectly fulfil the principles he hereby professes, if he did not extend the efforts of his arms to another sort of defence, which his patriotic sentiments equally impose on him as a duty.

“ Every body knows how the National Assembly of France, contrary to the most sacred laws of the *Droit des Gens*, and against the express tenor of treaties, have deprived the German Princes of their incontestible rights and possessions in Alsace and Lorraine, and the reclamations which a number of these Princes themselves have published; the deliberations and arrêts of the Diet of Ratisbon on this important matter, will also serve to furnish all those who wish to be informed, with the most convincing proofs, of the injustice of the proceedings of the French government, in this respect, which has not hitherto proposed to grant a full indemnity to the aggrieved parties; but adopting a peremptory language and threatening measures, only offered indemnities entirely insufficient and inadmissible. It is worthy of the King and his august ally, to have justice rendered to those oppressed Princes, and thereby to maintain the faith of treaties, the sole basis of union and reciprocal confidence between people, and the essential foundation of their tranquillity and welfare.

“ It is, in short, a last design of the armaments of the King, more extensive still than the former, and not less worthy of the sage and well-intended views of the allied courts. It tends to prevent the incurable evils which still result to France, to Europe, to all mankind, from this fatal spirit of general insubordination, of subverting all the powers, of licence, (*liberté trop grande*), and of anarchy, of which it might have been expected that an unhappy experience should have already stopped the progress.

“ There is not any power interested to maintain the balance of Europe, to whom it can be indifferent to see the kingdom of France, which hitherto formed so considerable a weight in this great balance, given up any longer to the interior agitations, and the horrors of disorder and anarchy, which, it may be said, have destroyed its political existence; there cannot be any Frenchman, truly loving his country, who does not ardently desire to see these terminated; in short, no man, sincerely a friend to humanity, who cannot but aspire to see limits put, as well to the progress of a *mistaken liberty*, a dazzling phantom, which leads the people far from the road of their true welfare, in altering the happy ties of attachment and confidence, which ought to unite them to their Princes, their fathers, and their defenders;

defenders; or especially to the unbridled furies of the wicked, who only seek to destroy the respect due to governments, for the purpose of sacrificing, on the ruins of thrones, to the idol of their insatiable ambition, or to a vile cupidity.

“ To put an end to anarchy in France, to establish for this purpose a legal power, on the essential basis of a monarchical form, and by this giving security to other governments against the incendiary attempts and efforts of a frantic troop; such is the grand object which the King, conjointly with his ally, still proposes, being assured in this noble enterprise, not only of the wishes of all the powers of Europe, who acknowledge its justice and necessity, but in general of the suffrages, and the wishes of every person, who sincerely wishes the welfare of mankind.

“ His Majesty is far from throwing the blame of these faults, which have forced him to take up arms, on the whole French nation—he is persuaded that a part, and, without doubt, the most numerous of this esteemed nation, abhor the excesses of a faction but too powerful; and, seeing the dangers to which these intrigues lead, strongly desire the return of justice, of order, and of peace. Unfortunately experience has shewn that the powerful influence of this party is still but too real, although the event has already demonstrated the nullity of these culpable projects, founded on insurrections, which it only seeks to foment. The difference of sentiments of persons well-intentioned, however certain they are, are thereby only for the moment little felt in their effects. But his Majesty hopes, that, in opening at last their eyes to the dreadful situation of their country, they will display all the energy which such a just cause ought to inspire, and that they will look on the allied troops assembled on the frontiers as their protectors and true friends, of whom Providence will favour the arms; and they will know how to reduce to their just value the factious who have put France in a state of fermentation, and who alone will be responsible for the blood which their criminal enterprises may cause to be shed.”

Berlin, the 26th July, 1792.

DECLARATION

ADDRESSED BY HIS MOST SERENE HIGHNESS THE
REIGNING DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG, COM-
MANDING THE COMBINED ARMIES OF THEIR MA-
JESTIES THE EMPEROR AND KING OF PRUSSIA, TO
THE INHABITANTS OF FRANCE.

“ Their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two Sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

“ After arbitrarily suppressing the rights, and invading the possessions of the German Princes in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown, in the interior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed against the sacred person of the King, and against his august family—those who have seized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his Majesty the Emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have only avoided the danger, by yielding to the imperious threats of the domineering party, and their emissaries.

“ His Majesty the King of Prussia, united with his Imperial Majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as preponderant member himself of the Germanic Body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and his co-estates. It is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that Monarch and of Germany.

“ To these high interests is added another important object, and which both Sovereigns have most cordially in view, which is to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the King to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

“ Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and that the ma-
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jority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors; his Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay, into the paths of reason and justice, of order and peace. It is with this view that I, the undersigned, General Commandant in Chief of the two armies, do declare——

“ 1st, That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied Courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

“ 2dly, That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, from their captivity, and to ensure to his Most Christian Majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to ensure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

“ 3dly, That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King; and that they will concur in the restoration of order and police throughout all France.

“ 4thly, That the national guards are called upon to preserve, provisionally, tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen until the arrival of the troops belonging to their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary—on pain of being personally responsible: That, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied Courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their King, and as disturbers of the public peace.

“ 5thly, That the General Officers, the subalterns, and soldiers, of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the King, their legitimate Sovereign.

“ 6thly, That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes, all the confiscations, all the murders and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions, until his Most Christian Majesty, when set at full liberty, shall

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make farther arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

“ 7thly, That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to fire upon them, either in open country, or through half-open doors, or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their King, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their Majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; their estates, their property, and their persons, shall be secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

“ 8thly, The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the King, to set that Prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his and to all royal persons that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to Sovereigns: Their Imperial and Royal Majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the Members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern; and their Imperial and Royal Majesties further declare, on their faith and word of Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Thuilleries be forced or insulted—if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done to their Majesties, the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family—if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction, and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved: Their Imperial and Royal Majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his Most Christian Majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above injunctions.

“ Finally, their majesties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France, except those which shall be derived from the King, when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be issued
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in the name of the King, so long as his sacred person, and that of the Queen and the Princes of the whole Royal Family, shall not be in full safety: And, with this view, their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite and intreat his Most Christian Majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the Queen and the Royal Family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his Most Christian Majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such Ministers and Counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order and the regular administration of his kingdom.

“ In fine, I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be observed every where by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline, promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ forces against those only who shall be guilty of resistance or of manifest evil intentions.

“ I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them every where to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance, and shew them all the benevolence which circumstances may require.

Given at General Quarters at Coblenz,

July 25, 1792.

(Signed) “ CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND,
“ DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG.”

ADDITIONAL DECLARATION BY HIS MOST SERENE HIGHNESS THE REIGNING DUKE OF BRUNSWICK AND LUNENBOURG, ADDRESSED TO THE INHABITANTS OF FRANCE.

“ The declaration which I have addressed to the inhabitants of France, dated Quarters General at Coblenz, July 25, must have sufficiently made known the firm resolves of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, when they entrusted me with the command of their combined armies.

“ The liberty and the safety of the sacred persons of the King, of the Queen, and of the Royal Family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their Imperial and Royal Majesties to act in concert, I have made known by my said declaration to the inhabitants of Paris, my resolve to inflict on them the most terrible punishments, if the least in-

sult should be offered to his Most Christian Majesty, for whom the City of Paris is particularly responsible.

“ Without making the least alteration to the 8th article of the said declaration of the 25th instant, I declare, besides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy or baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the King, the Queen, or any other person of the Royal Family, should be carried off from that city, all the places, and towns whatsoever, which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding, shall incur the same punishment as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and the route which shall be taken by those who carry off the King, and the Royal Family, shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishment, justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission.

“ All the inhabitants of France in general are to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impossible for them to avoid unless they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppose the passage of the King and the Royal Family, to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry them. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his Most Christian Majesty, (in case he should comply with the invitation which has been made him,) unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered.

“ All declarations, whatsoever, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, which shall be contrary to the object which their Imperial and Royal Majesties have in view, shall consequently be considered as null and without effect.

Given at General Quarters at Coblenz,

July 27, 1792.

“ CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND,
“ DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG.”

Commentary on the above, which may be called

THE MORALITY OF KINGS,

DECLARED BY THEIR OWN AUTHORITY, IN THE MANIFESTO OF HIS SERENE HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ALLIED ARMIES OF GERMANY AND PRUSSIA.

We, the Sovereigns of Germany and Prussia, acknowledge that we have no right to interpose in the internal affairs of France, yet we avow, that the internal regulation of the Government

ment of France is the principal object of our union; and declaration is intended to prescribe the conduct which all magistrates and other citizens shall observe under pain of military execution on persons and property, without the form of law.

"We justify this interposition by the known doctrine of the rights of Kings, as established by the law of nature and nations. We hold as a sacred and inviolable principle of natural right, affirmed by God, the benevolent Author of all men, that subjects are the property of Kings—that all resistance to their will is rebellion—and as his Most Christian Majesty's known situation prevents the declaration of his pleasure, we must act upon the presumed will of the French Monarch, which, from the congenial feelings of our own breasts, we find no difficulty to develope. We therefore declare, that the Commander of our armies is directed to give protection to all persons who shall submit without delay to the order of our foreign mercenaries, and we graciously promise to solicit the pardon of such who shall renounce the abominable and erroneous opinion, that subjects have rights which may be defended against the Prince, and faithfully promise implicit obedience in future.

"At the same time, we declare before God, that we will avenge, by a most dreadful example, all resistance to the cause of Kings, and the presumed will of their own Monarch, which no declarations, engagements, or oaths can obscure or disguise, and that not only all who shall presume to defend their houses, their families, or their country, but all who do not actively assist in suppressing such atrocious crimes, shall be punished with death, without the idle formality of a trial, their houses and property demolished, their country desolated, the metropolis delivered up to the plunder of our soldiery, and finally destroyed by fire, that no vestiges may remain of those wicked persons who publicly maintain the impious and detestable doctrine, that man as an intelligent being has rights to defend. Then will all mankind be as happy as the divine Author of Nature intended, under the gracious protection of us the delegates of Heaven, solely entrusted to execute the will of God upon earth."

LETTER FROM THE KING, ON THE PUBLICATION OF
THE DECLARATION OF THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

"MR. PRESIDENT, *Aug. 3, 4th Year of Liberty.*

"For several days a paper has been circulated, entitled, *The declaration of the reigning Duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg,*
Commander

Commander of the combined armies of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, addressed to the inhabitants of France. This paper exhibits nothing that can be considered as a proof of its authenticity. It has not been transmitted by any of my Ministers at the several Courts of Germany near our frontiers. The publication of it nevertheless seems to me to require a new declaration of my sentiments and my principles.

“ France is menaced by a great combination of forces. Let us all recollect the necessity of union. Calumny will not easily believe the sorrow I feel in considering the dissensions that exist among us, and the evils gathering round us; but those who know of what value in my eyes are the blood and the fortune of the people, will give credit to my uneasiness and my grief.

“ I brought with me pacific sentiments to the throne, because peace, the first blessing of nations, is the first duty of Kings. My former Ministers know what efforts I have made to avoid war. I felt how necessary was peace; it alone could enlighten the nation on the new form of her government; it alone, by sparing the sufferings of the people, could make me support the character I undertook in this revolution. But I yielded to the unanimous opinion of my Council, to the wish manifested by a great part of the nation, and several times expressed by the National Assembly.

“ When war was declared, I neglected none of the means of assuring its success. My Ministers received orders to concert measures with the Committees of the National Assembly and with the Generals. If the event has not yet answered the hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay the blame on our intestine divisions, the progress of the spirit of party, and above all, on the state of our armies, which wanted to be more practised in the use of arms before being led to combat. But the nation shall see my efforts increase with those of the hostile powers; I shall take in concert with the National Assembly all means to turn the evils inseparable from war, to the advantage of her liberty and her glory.

“ I have accepted the Constitution; the majority of the nation desired it: I saw that the nation considered it as the foundation of her happiness, and her happiness is the sole object of my life.

“ From that moment, I imposed it as a law upon myself, to be faithful to the Constitution; and I gave orders to my Ministers, to make it the rule of their conduct. I wished not to substitute my knowledge for experience, nor my opinion for my oath. It was my duty to labour for the good of the people; I have discharged that duty; and to have done so is enough to satisfy the conscience of an honest man. Never shall I be seen compounding the glory or the interests of the nation;

nation ; receiving the law from foreigners or from a party : It is to the nation that I owe myself ; I am one and the same with her ; no interest shall separate me from her ; she alone shall be listened to ; I will maintain the national independence with my last breath. Personal dangers, compared with public dangers, are nothing. Ah ! what are personal dangers to a King from whom it is attempted to alienate the love of the people ? There lies the real wound of my heart. The people, perhaps, will one day know how dear to me is their happiness, how much it has always been my sole interest, my first wish. How many griefs might be effaced by the slightest mark of its return !

(Signed)

“ LOUIS.

(Underigned)

“ BIGOT ST. CROIX.”

Several Members required that the King's letter should be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments. On this motion, the previous question was called for. M. Isnard having, with difficulty, obtained a hearing, said, that the King's letter was only a *heap of falsehoods*.

M. Thuriot said, that the King had written this letter merely because he knew that the municipality of Paris were going to demand his deposition. The proposal of printing the letter was rejected.

The Envoys of the Commonalty of Paris, with M. Petion at their head, appeared at the Bar, and M. Petion demanded, in the name of the forty-eight sections, that the King should be excluded from the throne, and that the management of affairs during the interregnum should be entrusted to responsible Ministers, until the election of a new King in a National Convention.

His speech was to the following purport :

“ LEGISLATORS,

“ It is at the moment when the country is in danger, that all her children should press round her : Never was it threatened with a greater danger than at present. The commons of Paris have sent us to you. We bring into the sanctuary of the laws the wishes of an immense city. Full of respect for the representatives of the nation, and of confidence in their courage and patriotism, the citizens of Paris have not for a moment despaired of the public safety. But they think that the way to cure the disorders of France, you ought, without an instant's delay, to attack them at the root. It is with heart-felt grief that they have found it necessary to commission us to appear before you this day, as accusers of the head of the Executive Power. The people know that they might with justice use against him the language of indignation. But expressions of anger become not men of strong minds. Compelled as we are
to

to impeach Louis XVI. before you and before all France, we will do it on the one hand without bitterness, and, on the other, without mincing the charge, which would betray a pusillanimity unworthy of our character. This is not a time to listen to the voice of that long indulgence, which, however it may become a generous nation, never fails to encourage Kings to commit perjury. When the salvation of the State is in question, even the finer feelings of the heart and the more amiable passions should be suspended.

“ We will not recal to your memory the whole of the conduct of Louis XVI. from the first day of the Revolution ; his bloody projects against the city of Paris, his predilection for Priests and Nobles, his aversion to the main body of the people, the National Assembly insulted by the servants of the Court, surrounded by armed men, wandering through a royal city, and able to find an asylum only in a tennis court. We will not recal to your recollection oaths so often broken, protestations daily made, and daily violated, till the moment when a perfidious flight opened the eyes even of those citizens who were most blinded by the fanaticism of slavery. We will not bring forth to view whatever the people were pleased to bury under the veil of pardon, which they granted him on that occasion. But to forgive is not to forget. In vain should we strive to forget all those crimes ; they will fill the page of history, and the memory of them will be handed down to posterity.

“ But we feel it a duty incumbent upon us to lay before you a hasty enumeration of the acts of kindness done by the nation to Louis XVI. and contrast them with the ingratitude of that Prince. How many reasons might have been assigned for removing him from the throne, when the people asserted by force their sovereignty ! The memory of an imperious and all-devouring dynasty, which for *one King*, had given us *twenty tyrants* ; hereditary despotism increasing from reign to reign with the wretchedness of the people ; the public finances completely destroyed by Louis XVI. and his two immediate predecessors ; infamous treaties, for which the national honour was sacrificed ; the eternal enemies of France becoming her allies and her masters. Such, were the rights which Louis XVI. could plead to a *constitutional* sceptre. The nation, faithful to its character, pursued the dictates of generosity rather than those of prudence. The *Despot of an enslaved soil became the King of a free people*. After having endeavoured to escape from France, that he might reign at Coblenz, he was placed again upon the throne, perhaps contrary to the wish of the nation, who ought to have been consulted upon the occasion.

" This great act of kindness to the King was followed by a thousand others. Towards the close of the last Assembly we saw the rights of the people weakened, that the power of the crown might be strengthened; the first officer of the public made the hereditary representative of the nation; a military household establishment formed for the purpose of adding splendour to his throne; and his legal authority supported by a civil list, to which no other bounds were given than those which he himself was pleased to set to it.

" Soon did we behold the kindness of the nation turned against herself. The power with which Louis XVI. was armed for the defence of liberty, he employed against it. Let us take a view of the internal parts of the kingdom. Wicked Ministers are removed by the irresistible force of public contempt; yet these are the men whose removal he regrets. Their successors warn the nation and the King of the dangers that surround the country; Louis XVI. dismisses them, because they shewed themselves honest citizens. The inviolability of the King, and the perpetual change of Ministers, elude the laws annexing responsibility to the agents of the Executive Power. A body of life guards, hostile to liberty, is dissolved in appearance, but is still suffered to exist in reality.

" Forced to accuse Louis XVI. we shall do it without passion and without artifice. We shall not retrace his whole conduct from the first instant of the Revolution, his plans against the city of Paris, his attachment to the Noblesse, the outrages offered to the Constituent Assembly by the valets of the Court, when that body was surrounded by armed men, and forced to take refuge in a tennis-court.

" We do not refer to his oaths so often violated; we pass over all that has been covered by the pardon of the people. But it is proper to notice the kindness of the nation to its King, and the ingratitude which he has shewn to it. Let us examine also what were the rights of Louis XVI. to the constitutional throne. The despotism of a dynasty, which in twenty Kings scarcely reckons a good one, the ruin of our finances, and the completion of treaties burthensome to the nation, these were his rights. After having endeavoured to leave France, for the purpose of reigning at Coblenz, he was replaced upon the throne, perhaps, against the wish of the Nation, which should have been consulted. From this moment he has continually forgotten his duties. Treacherous Ministers have been removed by the public contempt; he has testified to them his regrets. Patriot Ministers have been removed by him, and they carried with them the regret of the country. A guard of conspirators

has been in appearance dissolved, but exists in reality, since it continues to be paid by the King.

“ Priests endeavour to arm children against their fathers in an interior war; without, the armies of the enemy menace our territory, and traitors, led by the brothers and relatives of the King, are ready to enter the country. It is to avenge Louis XVI. that the execrable House of Austria would add another page to the history of its enormities; and, having conceived the wish of Caligula, would at one blow cut off the heads of all good French citizens. Flanders called us into its bosom; our troops entered, but the orders of the King recalled them.

“ The head of the Executive Power is the chief link in the counter-revolution chain. He has separated his interests from those of the nation; we also separate ours from his. His conduct is a series of acts of disobedience to the Constitution. While the King shall be at the head of the nation, we cannot be free. Louis XVI. invokes the Constitution; we invoke it also, and demand his deposition. As we have not confidence in this dynasty, we demand its exclusion. When the perjured and the slavish shall approach, they will then find ten millions of citizens, friends to liberty, ready to receive them.

“ The head of the executive power is the first link in the great chain of the counter-revolution; he seems to have had his share in the plots at Pilnitz, the existence of which he so long delayed to communicate to you. His name is every day found in opposition to the nation; it is a signal of discord between the people and their magistrates, between the soldiers and their generals. He has separated his interest from that of the nation. Let us do so too. So far from having opposed, by any formal act, the enemies either abroad or at home, his conduct is one continued act of disobedience to the constitution. As long as we have *such a King, liberty cannot take root among us.*

“ Feeling some little remains of indulgence, we could have wished it had been in our power to call upon you only to suspend the exercise of his authority, for as long as the country shall be in danger. But the constitution stands in the way of such a wish. Louis XVI. is ever appealing to that constitution; we appeal to it also in our turn, and call upon you to declare, *that he has forfeited the crown.*

“ This great measure being once adopted, as it is doubtful whether the nation can place any confidence in the reigning dynasty, we desire that Ministers really responsible, appointed by the National Assembly, but out of your own body, according to the law of the constitution, and chosen openly, not by ballot, may in the interim exercise the functions of the executive

tive power, until such time as the will of the people, *our Sovereign and yours*, shall have been legally declared in a National Convention, to be assembled as soon as the safety of the state will admit. In the mean time let our enemies, be they who they may, go beyond our frontiers; let the base and the perjured quit the land of liberty; let *three hundred thousand slaves* advance, they will find on their way *ten millions of freemen*, prepared for either *death or victory*, fighting for *equality*, for their houses, for their wives, and for their children. Let every one of us be a soldier in his turn; and if we must have the honour of dying for our country, *let each of us, before he breathes his last, render his memory illustrious, by the death of a SLAVE or a TYRANT.*"

This speech was delivered afterwards in writing to the President. But the Assembly came to no resolution upon it.

In the evening sitting of the same day, (August 3,) the King sent to the Assembly dispatches which he had received from his Ambassadors to the Elector of Cologne and the Duke of Wirtemberg. His Majesty notified, that these two Princes were preparing hostilities against France, and that no confidence was to be placed in the promise of neutrality made by the Duke of Wirtemberg.

Messrs. Thuriot and Grangeneuve exclaimed against the treachery of the executive power, who assured the Assembly, that nothing was to be apprehended from the petty Princes of Germany.

ENGLISH ARMAMENT.

In the same sitting, (August 4,) the Marine Committee made a report upon the letter of the King, which had been referred to them, demanding, that thirty-three vessels should be put into commission, in consequence of the reports, relative to an English armament. They thought such a measure entirely unnecessary; the English nation were well disposed to the French, and the attempt to provoke an enmity between them was criminal; the Ambassador in England had also given assurances of the neutrality of the Cabinet of St. James's. The English fleet now at sea, was intended merely for purposes of evolution.

The Assembly rejected the proposal of the King.

On this point relative to England, it is proper to take a little farther notice. Nothing can more clearly shew the *duplicity* of the French King, than this attempt to *falsify* the conduct of England. It is not only well known, but apparent to every body, that England every day exhibited the strongest

proofs of a perfect neutrality. The French King, therefore, wished to deceive the National Assembly by his pretended fears about England, and thereby to divert their attention from the proper object of the war.

So far from Great Britain shewing a desire to become a party in the war, it was the design of the British Ministry to stop the effusion of blood. The following paper, which, although written with a view of diminishing the character of the British Ministry, is yet sufficiently clear as to the matter of fact. It was published in the *Argus* of the second of August 1792 :

“ What we so much dreaded, has at length come to pass ; *our mediation has little weight with the powers of Europe*, who, on former occasions, would not have ventured to decline it.

“ Our conduct, when we interposed between Russia and the Porte, has sunk our consequence in the eyes of Europe.

“ First to talk big, then to crouch—to insist upon *every* thing, and to obtain *nothing*—to declare that peace should be made on the principle of the *Uti Possidetis*, and then to leave one of the parties in the peaceable possession of all she herself wished to retain of her conquests—used not to be the system of British politics : It was not suited to our national character, or to the rank which we hold among nations.

“ The moment that such appeared to be our new system, was the last of our consequence ; and the interposition of the State, represented by its Ministers as the most prosperous and flourishing in Europe, and the best able to give efficacy to its mediation, has been most completely disregarded by a power, which, in days of less prosperity on our part, has often looked up to us for support, and received it.

“ The mediation of Great Britain has been formally offered to the Court of Vienna, on the subject of its differences with France, and has been as formally rejected.

“ It is not the practice of Courts to reject friendly offers in harsh terms ; but notwithstanding all the courtly expressions which may be used on such an occasion, we may venture to say, that when a mediation is not accepted, the plain English of the matter is, *that it is rejected*.

“ Such has been the fate of our proffered mediation.—And yet, in order to recommend it the more, our Court voluntarily made a tender of her guarantee to secure to Austria the possession of the Netherlands, then actually invaded by the French.

“ The answer given to our offer of mediation was :

“ 1. That the Court of Vienna could not accept it without offending

offending the Princes who are parties to the Concert, unless their consent should be previously obtained.

“ 2. That matters were not yet sufficiently ripe to support a hope, that any good effect could be produced by mediation, which is seldom of any use before some battles are won and lost on both sides.

“ 3. That the French, during the continuance of their present effervescence, would not listen to any proposal for a modification of their constitution; and that, therefore, as the expences of the campaign had been already incurred, both by Austria and Prussia, it was best that they should prosecute their plan, whilst there was the smallest prospect of success.

“ 4. That such being the state of affairs, it was plain that England, convinced, as she must be, of the truth and justice of those principles, ought to continue a mere spectatrix of what was going on, and not raise her voice until the decisive moment arrived, when she might speak with effect.

“ 5. That his Majesty, the King of Hungary was, nevertheless, obliged to the Cabinet of St. James's for its good intentions; but, that he could not help at the same time observing, that if Great Britain meant to take any part at all in the business, her accession to the *Concert of Princes* would more effectually stem the torrent of *Jacobinism*, and restore the peace of Europe, than a thousand mediations.

“ Such has been the language of the Court of Vienna to us; but her language, when speaking of us, to *our* good ally the King of Prussia, has not been quite so measured.

“ In her communications with the Court of Berlin, she has actually said, that ‘ *England* had no other view in making an offer of her mediation, than to assume the appearance (and to build upon it some little merit) of feeling a concern for the general tranquillity of Europe, and of having done something towards restoring it.’

“ Such is the light in which the mediation and Ministers of this great empire are held by the Powers on the continent, whom we have often saved from ruin.”

Having made this short digression only for the purpose of explanation, we will now return to the further proceedings of the French National Assembly.

M. Bureaux Puzy was heard, touching the charge of having requested M. Luckner, in the name of M. La Fayette, to march to Paris. After having formally denied the charge, and laid before the Assembly the Military correspondence, which was the object of his interview with M. Luckner.

The President announced the following letter from M. de la Fayette; -

“ If

"If I had been interrogated as to my principles, I should have replied, that, being the proclaimer and constant defender of the Rights of Man, I have always and every where resisted those authorities which liberty disavows, and which the national will has not delegated; and that always and every where I have obeyed those, of which a free constitution has determined the form and the limits.

"But I am interrogated as to a fact. Have I proposed to Marechal Luckner to march with our armies to Paris? To this, I reply in four short words, "*It is not true.*"

(Signed) "LA FAYETTE."

The letter was referred to a Committee.

In the same sitting, a letter was read from M. Luckner, denying "that he had made any charge against M. de la Fayette."

The national guards of Paris complained, that they had been compelled by several hundreds of Marseillois into a contest, in which one of their comrades had fallen. A deputy represented the affair in another way, stating it to have been a quarrel mutually provoked between two individuals. It happened about five o'clock, at a *fête* given to the Marseillois, and, at six, all was quiet.

Messrs. Ricard and Lewinte announced addresses from Avallon and Falaire, requesting that the King might be deposed.

A letter was read from the Section of Monconseil, stating that the inhabitants had resolved to *renounce their allegiance to Louis XVI.* and invited the other forty-seven sections of the capital to follow their example.

On the 4th of August, the Section of Gravieliers being admitted to the Bar, produced the plan of a decree, in which they proposed, for the more regularly dethroning the King, to subject him to the same forms which ought to be employed against other magistrates, accused of prevarication. They requested that the trial should be conducted by a jury of accusation, and a jury of condemnation; that the legislative body should discharge the functions of the former, and pronounce immediately the accusation, and consequently his suspension; as it would be absurd to allow the King to remain at the head of the Government, while under trial, and it would be no less absurd if he should remain possessor and disburser of the civil list—a list of corruption.

"We request, therefore," said the orator, "that it may be sequestered." Let Louis XVI. soon hear these words, "*Louis XVI. you are no longer King.*" Let him experience that immense fall, the height of which he cannot know until he has been hurled into the abyss. We request also, that a national convention

convention may be called, composed of all Frenchmen without distinction. This convention shall pass a definitive sentence respecting his dethronement, and shall determine the form of government. The patience of the nation is exhausted. We still offer you, legislators, the honour of saving your country. If you refuse, we must save it ourselves."

The petition was referred to a Committee.

A decree, passed some days before, had ordered the Minister at War to remove two battalions of the Swiss regiment then in Paris. The Minister had given the necessary directions, but afterwards, by command of the King, had withdrawn them, M. d'Affry having represented to his Majesty, that such a measure might prevent the renewal of capitulations with the Helvetic body.

M. Richard exposed the impropriety of such an excuse.—Was the execution of French laws, relative to the interior of the kingdom, to be prevented, because the Helvetic Body might be offended by them? Several Members supported M. Richard; and the Assembly determined to refer the affair to the Diplomatic Committee, with an order to enquire, concerning the conduct of the Minister.

On Sunday, the 6th of August, the whole city of Paris were alarmed early in the morning by an attempt made by the King to escape from the Thuilleries. He had advanced to the great alley of the Thuilleries, where he was recognized by a sentinel; and being taken back to the palace, he sent for the Mayor, to whom he explained, that he had gone out solely for a *promenade*.

In the mean time, the *tocsin* (alarm bell) was sounded, and the Ministers were summoned to the Palace.

The place where the King intended to have escaped from the garden of the Thuilleries, was by the Point-Tournant, which leads to the place Louis XVI. He was in the dress of a peasant. An officer upon guard in the palace, said, that his Majesty was up, and dressed the whole night—that two of the Ministers were with him, and that a large body of the Swiss guards were upon duty.

The King's friends asserted, that all these appearances of an extraordinary movement were occasioned by an apprehension for the safety of the Royal Family, during the removal of the federates of Marseilles from their barracks in the Faubourg Poissonniere to the Convent of Cordeliers, and that in their route, a new quarrel might arise between them and the Parisian guard. This, however, was not very satisfactory. That some sort of agitation prevailed at the Thuilleries, on Saturday night

night and Sunday morning—the following official publication proves:

“ August 5, 1792, 4th year of Liberty.

“ This night, three couriers left the palace of the Thuilleries, bearing letters, the one addressed to the Mayor of Paris, the other to M. Stephen Leroux, merchant and municipal officer; the third to M. Cardot, municipal officer at Chaillot.—Some citizens, and a patrolle arrested in the place de Louis XV, the man who had the letter for M. Cardot, and accompanied him to the house of the latter. The letter being opened in the presence of the Commissary of the Police, was thus:—

“ M. Cardot, hasten; come to the palace—Your friends, your brothers are there.

Half past one in the morning.”

“ This note, without a signature, surprized M. Cardot, who went to the Mayoralty, and required the assistance of the administrator of the police. M. Sergeant accompanied him; both took information at length in the house of the Commissary, for the section of the Thuilleries; and it appeared, that M. M. Dejoly, Minister of Justice, and Dubocage, Minister of the Marine, had invited the two municipal officers to come that night to the palace, at all events, and that the Ministers had promised they should there find friends.

(Signed) “ SERGEANT, *Administrator.*”

The person of the King being safe, no farther notice was taken of the affair.

In the sitting on Monday the 7th of August, several citizens were admitted, bearing a petition, which had been signed by many thousand persons in the Champ de Mars. They were preceded by a pike surmounted by a woollen bonnet. Upon the middle of the pike was a label with the words “ Deposition of the King.” By the direction of several Members, this label was taken off, before the orator began to address the Assembly.

He then expressed the sense of the petitioners as to the King's conduct, which he said was calculated to open the country to the emigrants, to Prussia, to Austria. “ A perjured, a traitorous King is at the head of the government; favourites of the court sit amongst you; conspirators are spread over the face of the kingdom; the axe of the laws has not yet struck them. We demand the restoration of the nation, whose sovereignty has been sold. Louis XVI. in the midst of the capital, gives the word to his allies.” He then entreated that the King might be deposed, M. de la Fayette sent to trial, and patriot Ministers appointed.

The petitioners were informed, that the Assembly would consider of their demand.

Camp at Soissons.—Eight thousand nine hundred and nineteen volunteers are already at this camp; but the Commissioners have reported, that the Executive Power has neglected to furnish them with cloathing and arms.

Increase of the Armies.—The ardour of the young French citizens in enlisting for the service of their country, is unexampled. Six thousand men were required for the department of the Vosges; in a few days nine thousand were ready for marching. In another part of the kingdom, six thousand men were raised in six hours, and, in six days, they were actually upon the frontiers.

These circumstances were stated to the National Assembly on the 7th, at night.

PROCLAMATION

BY THE KING OF THE FRENCH.

“ FRENCHMEN;

August 7.

“ While numerous armies advance upon our frontiers, and are preceded by declarations, which menace the independence of the nation, indignation against their language, and the desire of defending the country, should leave in our hearts only one sentiment, one resolution. Union is now the first of necessities, and those who endeavour to disturb it, those who would break the bond, the first force of empires, those who estrange minds by distrust, and agitate them by calumnies, those who endeavour to separate the Nation from the King, they are the true public enemies, and afford to the powers, who attack us, the only support which can give them triumph.

“ Can it be possible, that the ambition of certain individuals, who have aspired to share among themselves the supreme Executive Power, is able to strike the French nation in an instant with such dreadful blindness, that it shall lose the view of its clearest interests, to become itself the victim and the price of their plots!

“ Is it not then easy to snatch the mask of patriotism from a few conspirators, who, to remedy the smallness of their number, think to multiply themselves by agitation, overwhelm the national opinion by their cries, inspire terror by their enterprises, and, trampling upon the laws and justice, dictate proudly their wills to the French people.

“ To these fanatical efforts, the King ought to oppose moderation; his Majesty ought to shew the truth to minds borne away from it—recall the confidence which is endeavoured to be estranged—approach the people from whose cause his is vainly endeavoured to be divided; for the interests of the King are the

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interests

interests of the People; he can only be happy in their happiness, powerful in their force, while those who do not cease to excite them against his Majesty, torment them at present by distrust, aggravate their evils by concealing from them their cause and their remedy, and prepare for them great unhappiness and long repentance, by impelling them to violent and criminal resolutions.

“ The King does not fear to commit the majesty of the throne, for which he is responsible to the nation, when he repels the calumnies, accumulated against his person; for he does not address himself to those who are the authors, but he would speak to the hearts of all the French, inform them of their interests, caution those who might be led away, undeceive those already seduced, and shew to all the dangers of the projects of the ambitious, the wickedness of their impostures, and the indignity of their means.

“ Since the instant when the King accepted the Constitution, he cannot be reproached, we will not say with an infraction, but with the slightest attempt against the law, which he has sworn to maintain. He has considered it as the expression of the general will, and has had no other than to cause its observance in all points. The King has notified it to foreign powers; he has recalled all his agents, who refused to submit to it by taking the oath; he has substituted for them others, known for their attachment to the Constitution.

“ Since his Majesty has known the designs of the powers coalesced against France, he has used every endeavour to restrain them by means of negotiations, and to divert them from a plan as contrary to their interests, when properly understood, as to that of this empire. To dissolve this league he has employed not only all the official means, which belong to the King of the French, but also all the credit, which his Majesty could have by the ties of blood and the interest of his personal situation. When the severity of the laws required from the King a rigorous conduct against the French Princes of his family and his blood, unhappily as the moment was for his heart, did he hesitate between the voice of nature and the duties of royalty?

“ The King has doubtless used every endeavour to avoid the war, and it was also in spite of himself, and when he could no longer withhold from it, that he determined upon this cruel measure, of which the people support all the weight. What man is there so barbarous as to blame this resistance? What enemy of humanity and of France can call this a crime in his Majesty? He might rather be reproached for having consented to the war, if the agreement of the National Assembly, and of the

the Ministers, who then occupied the seats of his Council, had not made this determination necessary for him.

“ His Majesty has yielded to this re-union, and, the war being once declared, he has spared nothing to support the glory of the French arms. As the Supreme Chief of the army, the King was too much connected with this glory not to maintain it in all its splendour. The choice of Generals at the head of the armies has received the plaudits of the nation, and he has endeavoured to encrease their zeal by the most eminent rank, with which he proposed to the National Assembly to invest those who were capable of it.

“ If the preparations have not equalled the promptitude of the declaration of war, if the system of the campaign unanimously adopted by the Ministers, has produced false combinations, if their flights, after having drawn upon our arms afflicting circumstances, have excited the murmurs of the army, the complaints of the Generals, and universal discontent, it must be evidently unjust to impute to his Majesty a personal wrong in the errors of his Ministers, for which they are responsible. Strong in the testimony of his conscience, the King has always appealed from the apparent or temporary opinion to the real and more certain opinion of the nation. By the exercise of his constitutional rights, he has shewn more liberty in the eyes of Europe, than he could have done by the strongest declarations.

“ What orders has he not given for the provisioning and increase of the armies? The King opposed the forming a camp in the interior of the kingdom, and almost under the walls of Paris, but to propose a formation of volunteer battalions, more numerous, and collected in a manner more useful. The whole of our forces, amounting to more than 300,000 men, has been led to the frontiers, and distributed, partly in places of war, which it is important to defend, partly in the different camps, according to the dispositions adopted by the Generals of the army, to whom his Majesty has given every confidence and every power to do good.

“ Can he unite his interests with those of the nation more intimately? Can he accomplish more scrupulously what the Constitution imposes upon him, than in exhausting all the means of negotiation to protect France from the scourge of war; than in shewing himself parsimonious of French blood, an œconomist of their treasures, a religious observer of the pacific principles of the Constitution? And when the King could not avoid this evil, what other duties remained for him to fulfil, than to employ all the national forces, and to excite, as he has done, the French honour and the love of the country to defend energetically the cause of liberty.

“ Foreign armies menace you. French, it is for you to daunt them by your countenance, and especially by your union. They insult your independence; renew, with the King, the oath to defend it. They usurp his name to invade the French territory. Has he not before-hand denied this injury by refusing himself as much as possible to a war, which is said to be undertaken for his interests? Has he not denied it already by assembling armies to oppose the effort of the enemies’ armies? Has he not since denied it, by a formal act conformably to the Constitution, as soon as he saw it in a declaration attributed to the General of the combined armies!”

“ Frenchmen, can your King be responsible for the language which your enemies hold? Can it be in their power to break the bonds, which subsist between you and him; and by manifestos more dreadful, perhaps, than their arms, can they scatter division amongst us, when they cannot inspire terror?”

“ Frenchmen, all your enemies are not in the armies, which attack your frontiers; know them by their project to disunite you, and believe, that those are not far from having a common interest, who accord so well in the ideas which they wish to spread.

“ Those who would conquer France, announce, that they have taken up arms for the interests of the King; and those, who agitate it within, dare equally to say, that it is for his interests they struggle against himself. His Majesty gives to the assertions of both parties, the most formal disavowal. It is to all good Frenchmen, to all those who have the national honour at heart, the interest of liberty, the safety of the country, to reject such perfidious insinuations, opposing to the arms of the first, an invincible courage, to the plots of the latter an inflexible attachment to the law.

“ On these considerations,

“ The King, thinking it his duty to recall the execution of the laws, the respect due to the constituted authorities, and to give to the national force all the energy of which it is susceptible, by impressing upon all thoughts, upon all wills, upon all efforts, a common direction towards the safety of the State,

“ His Majesty enjoins to the councils general and directories of the department and districts, as also to the councils general of communities and municipalities, to redouble their zeal and activity for the maintenance of public order, the collection of taxes, the safety of persons and property, and generally to fulfil all the duties entrusted to their vigilance.

“ His Majesty orders, also, to the civil and criminal tribunals, justices of the peace, and officers of the police, to watch

watch individually over the objects which concern them, so that the laws, the deposit of which is particularly entrusted to their vigilance, may be exerted according to their form and tenour.

"His Majesty reminds all Frenchmen, that the law, as to the dangers of the country, having placed all the public functionaries, civil and military, in a state of permanent requisition, imposes upon them the oblivion of fulfilling their duties, as citizens, with new zeal.

"In consequence, he invites all active citizens to repair with punctuality to the legal assemblies, to which they are called to express their will and to pay to their country the tribute of their understandings.

"His Majesty invites them equally to serve personally in the national guard, to give force to the law, to maintain the execution of judgments, to defend the peace and public tranquillity, and exhorts them especially to an inviolable attachment to the constitution, to which they have sworn to be faithful.

"Given at the Council of State, August 7, 1792, fourth year of liberty.

"LOUIS.

"DEJOLY; DUBOUCHAGE; CHAMPION; DABANCOURT;
"LEROUX LA VILLE; BIGOT ST. CROIX."

In the sitting of the National Assembly, on the 8th of August, the question, as to the accusation of M. de la Fayette, came to be decided.

M. Pastoret, a Member of the Extraordinary Commission, reported, that when the opinion of the Committee was taken, only fifteen members were present. Of these, *eight* voted for the accusation; *seven* against it; and when to the latter were added the six absentees, who shewed themselves unfavourable to the proceeding, the majority was favourable to the General.

M. Jean Debry made the report of the Committee, and, notwithstanding his known enmity to M. de la Fayette, confessed, that nothing in his public conduct amounted to a positive crime.

M. Briffot persevered in his accusation.

M. Vaublanc, though a leading member of the *Jacobins*, spoke for an hour and a half in favour of M. de la Fayette.

When the question was taken, the majority was evidently in favour of M. de la Fayette, but it was wished to have the *appel nominal*, and this produced,

For the accusation, 224—against it, 406—Majority, 182.

The galleries expressed much displeasure at the decision.

August 9.

The above decree of acquittal gave much offence to the people—in consequence thereof, they were determined to carry the question of the KING'S DEPOSITION, which stood for this day.

M. Merlet, the president, announced, on the information of a member, that the Hall was surrounded by bodies of armed men, and that the guard was not sufficient to defend it. The Court party immediately exclaimed, that the Assembly was not free; that it was not even safe; that extraordinary circumstances called for extraordinary measures; that their first step ought to be to remove from Paris; and their second to impeach M. Petion.

A number of letters were read from members complaining that they had been insulted, menaced and actually assaulted by the mob last night, for having spoken or voted in favour of La Fayette. They represented that the members of the Assembly were no longer at liberty to speak their sentiments; and that unless strong measures were taken to secure their persons, they must seek an asylum in some other place.

These and many other similar complaints occupied the Assembly till five in the afternoon, when M. Condorcet, as reporter of the Extraordinary Commission, stated the various considerations connected with the grand question of the KING'S FORFEITURE—and concluded thus, "Whatever plan you may adopt, you will be accused of having violated the Constitution. You are forced to steer between the boundaries of your own powers and the violation of rights. You ought to confine yourselves within the limits of the law. Your Committee will not present a complete plan of the measures to be pursued in such circumstances. We are fully sensible how pressing the dangers of the country are, but too much precipitation might ruin it, and measures badly combined might not be sufficient. *You ought to run every risque to save your country, but remove from danger every thing you can.* Your Committee will at present recommend to you only one measure, which is to publish an instruction to the people on the mode of exercising their right of sovereignty, in order to put them on their guard against the errors into which they may be precipitated."

M. Petion now appeared at the bar. He said the public peace hitherto had been preserved; but a rumour having been spread that a plot was formed for carrying off the King, the people, as if actuated by one spirit, had all bent their way towards the Thuilleries, to prevent his being carried away; and, for

for that purpose, a certain number of citizens, from each battalion of the national guard, were ordered to do duty at the palace. He believed, therefore, that the person of the King was in safety. M. Petion concluded, by recommending to the Assembly to pursue lenient and persuasive measures with the enraged populace, as the most likely means to prevent excesses, the people being armed, and ready to resist any coercive measures that might be adopted against them.

The Assembly, considering the present dangerous situation of the capital, decreed, that, till order be restored, there should be a permanent sitting.

MIDNIGHT,

The alarm-bell sounded in every quarter; the *generale* was beat, and the citizens hurried to arms. Soon after, the Assembly were informed that M. Petion, who had gone to the Palace for the purpose of preserving tranquillity, was detained there as an hostage for the King's safety. He soon after appeared at the bar. Immediately after this the hall of the Assembly was surrounded by an immense crowd of people, some of whom called out—"That the Court had become the focus of a Counter-revolution; and that the Palace itself was another Coblenz. If the people had at last resolved to punish their enemies, it was not till they had been forced to it. If they were determined to take into their own hands the vengeance of the law, it was, because the law was slow in punishing those traitors who were constantly attempting to overthrow the constitution. That every law ought to be suspended, and give place to that supreme law—the safety of the people."

FRIDAY MORNING, August 10.

As day-light approached, the Minister of Justice entered the hall, imploring for the King that protection from the Assembly, which, from the outrageous conduct of the mob assembled in the Thuilleries, he had but little reason to expect from the affections of the people. While they were deliberating upon the most proper measures to be adopted in this awful and alarming crisis, some municipal officers announced that a *new provisional administration* had been formed at the Common's-hall; that the people, assembled in their different sections, had named Commissioners, who, in virtue of their powers, had designated themselves a *general council of the community*; and that the municipality had been suspended during the continuance of this temporary authority, of which Petion was the head,

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The Assembly resumed the discussion of the main question; but were again interrupted by the news of atrocities committing in different quarters of the city. A pretended patrol had been arrested moving towards the castle, and also some courtiers, some of the King's guards, and an Abbé; an alarm was spread, and numbers of armed citizens of the battalion of Marseilles, and of Federates from the different departments, began to fill the avenues to the Palace and the National Assembly, demanding vengeance on those traitors whom they had seized.

About nine o'clock in the morning, almost every person who could procure arms, hurried towards the Thuilleries, calling out for the dethronement of the King—adding, that he was a traitor, and had forfeited the confidence of the nation.

The King, alarmed at the furious dispositions manifested by the people, left the Thuilleries; and attended by the Swiss regiment of guards, proceeded to the National Assembly, accompanied by the Queen, his sister, and the royal children. He first placed himself by the side of the President, and afterwards retired to the bar with his family; but, as according to the terms of the constitution, the Assembly could not perform the functions of a deliberative body while he was present, he was desired to move into one of the boxes set apart for the use of the editors of newspapers. He was afterwards conducted to an apartment belonging to the Assembly.

When his Majesty seated himself by the side of the President, he said, "I am come among you to prevent the commission of a horrid crime, convinced, that whilst here, I am safe."

The Assembly then sent ten Commissioners to endeavour to appease the people. In the mean time, detachments from the national guard, citizens armed with pikes, and a number of the Marseillaise and Federates, ranged themselves in the Place de Carouzel, and proceeded to attack the palace, which was guarded by a body of Swiss.

The Swiss having fired upon the mob, they were put to flight; but being reinforced by the Marseillaise and Federates from Brest, as well as by a great number of Parisians, they rallied again, and commenced a heavy fire against their opponents.

The gates being at last forced by the mob, an obstinate combat ensued; the Swiss defending themselves with bravery, and the populace continuing their attack with fury! At last, the Swiss were obliged to yield to superior force, and, almost to a man, were butchered! They, however, sold their lives dear, and did not yield till they had killed several hundreds of their opponents!

After

After the mob had got possession of the palace, an immense croud burst into the different apartments; some of whom carried to the Assembly the Queen's jewels, valuable effects, money, and important papers. The furniture was taken to the Sections, after an inventory of it had been made, and the papers were sent to the Committee of Safety. The statues of Louis XIV. and XV. were destroyed.

The King declared to the President, that he had left orders for the Swifs not to fire upon the people.

During this tumult, while the noise of cannon was heard in the Assembly, and several shots even entered the windows, the Members still continued their deliberations; the Jacobin party exclaiming, Liberty! Equality! and all raising their hands towards Heaven, swearing they would die to save their country.

It was observed, that many Members, either through fear, or from some other motive, were absent: It was, therefore, considered as of importance to make a call of the House to determine who were present: This being decreed, each Member took the following oath:

"I swear, in the name of the nation, to maintain Liberty and Equality, or to die at my post!"

The following decree was then proposed by M. Vergniaud, in the name of the Extraordinary Commission, and adopted by the Assembly:

"The National Assembly, considering that the want of confidence in the Executive Power, is the cause of all our evils, and that this want of confidence has called forth, from all parts of the kingdom, a wish, *that the authority entrusted by the Constitution to Louis XVI. should be revoked*, and that the only means of reconciling what they owe to the safety of the people, with their own oath, of not increasing their own power, are to submit to the sovereign will of the nation—decree as follows:

"1. The French people are invited to form a National Convention. The Committee will propose to-morrow a plan for pointing out the time and mode of this Convention.

"2. The Executive Power is *provisionally* suspended from this moment, until the National Convention shall have decreed the measures necessary to be pursued for preserving national independence. The Civil List is suspended; and the Committee will point out the sum which the Legislative Body ought to allow for the subsistence of the Royal Family.

"3. The six Ministers now in office shall exercise the Executive Power. The Extraordinary Commission shall present, in the course of this day, a plan for the organization of the Ministry.

"4. The Extraordinary Commission shall present a plan for appointing a governor to the Prince Royal.

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"5. The

" 5. The King and Royal Family shall remain under the protection of the Legislative Body till the Department shall prepare apartments for them at Luxembourg.

" 6. The King and Royal Family are under the safeguard of the law, and their defence entrusted to the national guard of Paris.

" 7. All magistrates, officers, and soldiers, who shall quit their post, shall be declared infamous, and traitors to their country.

" 8. The Department of Paris shall this day cause the present decree to be proclaimed.

" 9. It shall, at the same time, be transmitted by extraordinary couriers to the eighty-three Departments."

It was now near one o'clock in the morning of

SATURDAY, *August 11,*

When, on the motion of M. Brissot, the Assembly declared, that the six Ministers had lost the confidence of the nation; upon which they decreed, that six others should be chosen from among themselves; and also, that three Commissioners should be chosen for each of the armies.

A decree of accusation was passed against Dabancourt, formerly Minister of War, for having caused the present tumults, by not having dismissed the Swiss guards.

The Royal Family rested last night at the *Bâtiment de Feuillans*.

The number of people who have been killed, is supposed to amount to between *twelve and fifteen hundred*.

SUNDAY, *August 12.*

A great number of addresses, felicitating the Assembly on their firm conduct in suspending the King, were presented and read this morning—also a great number of patriotic gifts.—Ordered, " That search shall be made to find out the widows and children of all the citizens, who perished in the affair on the 10th, in order that they may be indemnified in the same manner the widows and children of the conquerors of the Bastille were."

Decreed, " That a legion be formed, agreeable to the proposal of the patriot Anacharsis Clopotz, and that it be named *Legion Vandale*."

The meeting finished by the following decree:—" First, The Hotel of the Minister of Justice shall be inhabited by the King.—Second, He shall be furnished with a guard, subordinate to the Mayor of Paris, and to the Commandant of the national guard, who shall be answerable for his safety, and that of his family—

family—Third, There shall be a sum of 500,000 livres allowed to pay his expences, until the moment of the National Convention meeting:

ACT ON THE LEGISLATIVE BODY ON THE SUSPENSION OF THE KING.

“ The National Assembly declares, That the King is suspended; and that both himself and family remain as hostages; that the present Ministry have not the confidence of the nation, and that the Assembly proceed to replace them.

“ That the Civil List cease to take place.

“ GENSONNE, *President*.

“ LECOINTE PUYRAVEAU, *Secretary*.”

MONDAY.

The Assembly have decreed, that no person shall be admitted to see the King, without an order from the municipality.

Some municipal officers having presented themselves at the bar, the President informed one of them, M. Manuel, the Common Serjeant of Paris, that the Assembly had passed a decree, by which the Hotel of the Minister of Justice was fixed on as a place proper for the habitation of the King and Royal Family.

M. Manuel.—“ The municipality, who propose to be answerable for the person of the King, cannot be so after the decree which you have passed. The Hotel of the Minister of Justice is surrounded by a great number of houses, which may afford the ready means of an escape: Whereas the Temple stands by itself, and is inclosed with high walls.”

The Assembly then left to the Community of Paris to determine on a place proper for the residence of the King, and entrusted to them the care of *detaining* him in *custody*.

On a motion made by M. Thuriot, the Assembly decreed, “ That the decree by which the soldiers of National Gendarmery of Paris, were authorised to name their own officers, should be extended to those of all the Departments.”

M. Guadet proposed the following plan of a decree for summoning a National Convention:

“ The National Assembly, after having invited the citizens, in the name of Liberty and Equality, to assemble without the least possible delay, and in the greatest possible number, decrees,

“ 1. The Primary Assemblies shall nominate the same number of electors, as in the preceding elections. The voters shall first take the oath to maintain Liberty and Equality, and to die in their defence.

" 2. The distinctions of citizens, active and not active, are abolished. To be admissible to the Primary Assemblies, it shall be sufficient to be a French citizen, to be twenty-one years of age, to have been resident for a year in the place, and not to be a menial servant. They who have not taken the civic oath, shall be bound to take it.

" 3. Every citizen shall be eligible, without any other condition than those required in the preceding article.

" 4. The Electoral Assemblies shall nominate for the National Convention, the same number of Deputies as for the present Legislature.

" 5. The Primary Assemblies shall observe the same formalities in their operations as at the last election.

" 6. The Primary Assemblies are convoked for Sunday, the 26th of August.

" 7. The Electoral Assemblies shall meet in the chief towns of each Department, on the 2d of September.

" 8. The Members of the National Convention shall repair to Paris, on or before the 20th of September. They shall cause their names to be entered in the Archives; and as soon as they shall amount to two hundred, the present Legislature shall give place to them.

" 9. Three livres a day shall be paid to the electors as long as the Electoral Assemblies shall continue to sit, and twenty sous a mile for travelling expences.

" 10. No person now exercising, or having formerly exercised any function whatever, shall be ineligible to the National Convention."

TUESDAY, *August 14.*

The correspondence between the Court and the Emigrants, &c. is now in possession of a committee of the Assembly; the Members are busied night and day in arranging the papers for publication.

M. Laporte, the Intendant of the King's revenue, is sent to the Abbaye. All his papers have been laid on the table of the Assembly. Large bundles of letters, most of them begging a *slice* of the civil list, have been opened and read. The King had added marginal notes with his own hand, for the most part, directing a compliance with the petitions presented.

The following letter was sent on Wednesday, August 15, from the Secretary of State's Office, to the Master of Lloyd's coffee-house, London.

Whitehall, Wednesday morning, Aug. 15.

" Mr. Aust presents his compliments to Mr. Taylor, Master of
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of Lloyd's Coffee-house, and acquaints him, agreeably to his request, that a messenger arrived this morning from Paris, with the news of a commotion on Friday, in which the mob killed the greatest part of the Swiss guards, who defended the Thuilleries, as also several persons of distinction, amongst whom was M. Clermont Tonnere, and destroyed the furniture of the palace, and all the out-buildings adjoining. At the beginning of the tumult, the King, Queen, and the Royal Family, escaped across the garden to the National Assembly, in a room adjoining to which they continued on Sunday, when the messenger set out. On Friday the Assembly decreed, that the Executive Power was withdrawn from the King, and that for the present the government should be entrusted to Ministers of their nomination. That the King should be lodged in some place of safety, and the civil list no longer continued. That the primary Assemblies should be convened for the 26th instant, in order to appoint a National Convention to meet at Paris on the 26th of September, to decide ultimately upon the forfeiture of the crown, and the mode of establishing an Executive Power."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM PARIS, AUG. 10.

The prelude to the foregoing scene, was the ringing at midnight, on Thursday, all the alarm-bells. These bells are very large, they are struck with a hammer, and there is one in each section; consequently there are forty-eight of them in Paris.

"Of the engagement on Friday, I cannot speak from my own observation; for, though I was within ear-shot, I did not see it. My account is, however, from spectators. There is no doubt but the Swiss fired first, but not until they were pressed upon in the most violent way, and their guns forcibly turned round, and planted against the palace. M. Afry, their Colonel, gave the orders to fire. The federates of Brest and Marseilles rushed forward, and in a few minutes there was a dreadful slaughter. The Swiss retreated to the palace, and kept a most fatal fire from the windows. The dead lay in heaps. The quays were full of people, armed and unarmed, and directing their fire deliberately into this multitude; the massacre was dreadful. It did not, however, intimidate the assailants. Seven pieces of cannon were played on the Thuilleries and the Louvre. They made their breaches in the old walls in a short time; but their impetuosity from the Place de Caroussel was irresistible. They broke in, and, in a few minutes, the multitude filled the palace; every Swiss that came in their way perished; but numbers found temporary safety in the cellars and garrets, and were with

with difficulty saved from the rage of the people. I can give you no perfect account of the dead. From the numbers yet unburied, or thrown into the Seine, or burnt, for a fire was made in the place de Caroussel, in which the furniture, the tapestry, &c. of the palace was consumed; and into which many dead bodies (such as they knew to be Gentlemen) were thrown; I suppose there were not fewer than 2,500; some carry the number much higher, and others diminish it to a very small number indeed. The palace is completely dismantled. The day was excessively hot; and they regaled themselves on the King's wine. They brought it out in immense quantities; and it was not uncommon to see men and women, after their own draught, put the bottle to the mouth of the dead lying in mangled heaps, with that spirit of furious sport which they have all along exhibited, crying—"Here, take your last drink; F——! Drink to the Nation!" The horrors of the day cannot be described to you in adequate language, for the beginning of our career in July 1789 was exceeded.

"The new Ministry, as appointed by the Assembly, are—

"M. Danton, Minister of Justice.

"M. le Brun, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"M. Roland, Minister of the Interior.

"M. Servan, Minister at War.

"M. Monge, Minister of Marine.

"M. Claviere, Minister of Contributions.

"The King, Queen, and Family, bore their condition with silence. The President's room was assigned for them, and there they have remained ever since. The Count d'Artois's house at the Temple will certainly be their residence, because it is near the Faubourg St. Antoine. The palace Bourbon is converted into a prison for the Swiss, and for all the persons whom they chuse to apprehend upon suspicion. The Feuillant Journals are all stopt, and, by opening letters, they have gained a pretty general knowledge of their enemies, and they are arresting them in numbers."

During the whole time of the commotion, all persons attempting to plunder were put to death; and many innocent persons suffered on suspicion.

The following is an instance of the manner in which the provisional magistracy of Paris talked to the people at this time :

**PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMONS OF PARIS, AUGUST
10, 1792.**

"Citizens, the people, reduced to the alternative of death or slavery, have prevented the ruin of their country, by resuming

ing their rights a second time. The Sovereign has spoken; Magistrates nominated by the majority of the sections, have taken their seats at the common hall. This measure, rendered necessary by circumstances, will break all the threads of intrigue. It will throw light on the chain of treasons which have brought liberty into such imminent peril. The people will not this time have risen in vain. Magistrates full of zeal will second their efforts. They have connected their operations with those of your former Magistrates, who are most worthy of public confidence. Petion is still chief of the Commons, and Manuel and Danton are at their posts.

"Citizens, Maudat is at this moment in irons, and the law will soon punish his treasons. Santerre is your Commandant-General.

(Signed)

"HUGUENIN, *President*.

"LEONARD, BOURDON, and MARTIN, *Secretaries*."

The following is the address of the National Assembly to the French, agreed on the 10th of August:

"For a long time the most eager inquietudes have agitated all the departments; the people have expected from its representative alone the measure which might save them. This day, the citizens of Paris have declared to the Representative Body, that their authority alone preserved the confidence of the people. The Members of the National Assembly have individually sworn in the name of the Nation to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at their post; they will be faithful to their oath.

"The National Assembly is about to prepare those laws, which extraordinary circumstances have rendered necessary; and invites the citizens, in the name of the country, to provide, that the rights of man should be respected and properties assured. She invites them to rally round herself, to assist in saving the public cause, and not to aggravate, by unhappy divisions, the evils and the dangers of the empire.

"The National Assembly declares infamous and traitorous to the country, every public functionary, every officer and soldier, who shall desert his post, and shall not expect with submission the orders of the Nation, expressed by its Representatives.

(Signed)

"GAUDET, *President*.

"GOUJON, BLANCHARD, LACOINT,

"PUYRAVEAU, *Secretaries*."

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC BY COMMISSIONERS, MET AT THE HOTEL-DE-VILLE, TO SAVE THE COUNTRY, AUG. 10, 1792.

"The public is informed, that the Sicur Maudat, chef de legion, suffered the punishment due to his treasons, as he was conducting to the abbey prison, by order of the general assembly of the representatives of the forty-seven sections.

(Signed) "HUGUENIN, &c."

Maudat was, by rotation, Commandant-General of the national guard; and his treasons consisted in some resolutions to call out the national guard against the people.

PARIS, *Monday morning, Aug. 13.*

"The house of the Printer of the Journal de Paris, and all his property, were burnt and destroyed on Friday last, and the people are determined that neither him or any of the other aristocratic printers shall circulate their opinions through the press.—In consequence of which, there is no Journal de Paris, Mercure de France, Gazette de Paris, Journal General de France, or any other prints on those principles.

"Within 24 hours, the fine equestrian and pedestrian statues of Henry IV. on Pont Neuf, Louis XIII. on Place Royale, Des Victoires de Louis XIV. on the place formerly bearing his name, that of Louis XIV. on the Place Vendôme, and that of Louis XV. on the place of his name, were all totally destroyed.

M. d'Abancourt, the late Minister at War, was apprehended and committed to prison on Saturday evening, in consequence of the decree of accusation pronounced against him.

M. Bocquillon, M. Boup, and M. Duperron, Justices of the Peace, were committed to prison the same evening, by an order of the Committee of Safety.

Orders were also issued for apprehending M. Lachenage, Chief of the sixth legion, and M. Rulhiers, Colonel of the Gendarmes.

M. Charles Lameth, who is arrested at Banantin, in Normandy, his brother, Alexander, Barnave, and all the Ministers of the first of November, were impeached last night in the Assembly. By the Ministers of the first of November are meant du Port, du Tertre, Duportail, Montmorin, &c.

The King has already spent in advance two years of the civil list. Bankers lent him the money on the security of the public grant.

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"The Queen and Prince Royal accompanied the King in the review of the troops on the morning of the 10th. M. de Viombuil, it is proved, was at the head of the plot. He had assured himself of 100 chosen men, who could each answer for five, who again could each answer for ten. M. Duchatelet (not Achilles) was appointed commandant; and they name, as men who were to serve under him, M. Puysegur, the old Marechal de Mailly, M. M. de Poix, D'Affry, father and son, Melfort, D'Offonville, Tourzel, Champeency, Clermont Tonnerre, Pont L'Abbe, D'Hermigery, de Brige, Fleurieu, Salvere, Adrien Duport, &c. They were all ordered to be in the Thuilleries on the famous night, between the 9th and 10th, and a countersign was given to the leaders."

The following order was given by Rhulieres, to the National Gensdarmes in the Thuilleries, on the morning of the 10th.

"The colonel of the 29th division of the Gensdarmes will attack the column (of the citizens) in the rear. He will divide them in all possible directions—and then charge them. The first common shot will be fired in the Thuilleries. The battalion of the Natoire will join the attack. The colonel of the 29th division will concert measures with the commandant of that battalion.

(Signed) "BOISSIEUX,
"MAUDAT, *Chief of the division.*"

PARIS, Aug. 14.

Great tranquillity now prevails here—the horrid storm which lately raged having subsided into a sort of sullen calm. M. Petion is now constantly attended by two armed citizens as a kind of guard for his person, as it has been industriously circulated that plots were carrying on to have him assassinated. Several people have even been taken as accomplices in the plot, and are now waiting for their trial.

[*We will now return to the proceedings of the National Assembly, in this important period.*]

SUNDAY, August 12.

Two officers of the 10th battalion of National Federate Volunteers, presented the following petition from their comrades in arms:

"LEGISLATORS!

"The enemies of our country are no more! While we detest their crimes, we shall moisten their ashes with our tears! The Executive Power is overthrown. Our Legislators have acquired glory, and the fathers of our country are entitled to

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our blessings. We are inflamed with the desire of fighting in defence of the violated Rights of Man; but we are not armed.—Arms! arms! Legislators!—We wish for arms to maintain *liberty and equality.*”

This address was referred to the Military Committee.

The Community of Landau wrote to the Assembly, requesting that they might not be deprived of M. Custine, whom they considered as their buckler, their friend, and their father!

To their address was subjoined the copy of a letter, written, on the 7th instant, to the General, by an emigrant, inviting him to give up Landau to the emigrant princes and their adherents, who represented the King; promising him that he should continue a lieutenant-general, with every mark of honour he could desire; and threatening to attack him with 35,000 men, in case he refused.

Referred to the Committee of Safety.

A citizen of the section of Grenelle, named Pierre le Prieur, made the following declaration at the bar:

“Being on duty, on the evening of the 9th, at the Castle, I saw several officers of the *Gensdarmes* and national guards, coming towards it: A young man afterwards came up, in the dress of a citizen, who, being asked if there was any assemblage at the Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, replied, that there was not. At ten I was relieved from duty. In the Court of the Palace, I heard that orders had been given for beating *the Generale*. The King was carried away in triumph—his attendants cried out, on all sides, *Vive le Roi!* and not *Vive la Nation!* The orders for sounding the alarm-bell were given from the castle. It was the castle that attacked the nation, and not the nation that attacked the castle.”

A number of petitioners being admitted to the bar, the orator spoke as follows:

“Legislators! there is amongst you a Deputy who is a traitor to his country; we have brought proofs of his treachery. M. Blancgilly, of Marseilles, called himself the friend of the people. When appointed a Deputy, he kept up a correspondence with his fellow citizens, rather like a demagogue than an enlightened patriot. He has assumed the livery of the Aristocrats. Since the 20th of June, he has been circulating a work, written by himself, which one would rather ascribe to the Minister Terrier. This work is full of calumnies against the Marseillaise. On the 21st of July, he wrote—‘You may depend upon the following facts:—Armies, formidable both by their number and discipline, are advancing against us. It is as impossible to stop them as to move mountains. The transactions of the 20th of June have won over all hearts to the
King;

King: Hasten, therefore, to be first, like good men, in quitting the society of conspirators, lest you be confounded with them. The plot for assassinating the King disgraces the Federates of this city.' This man then did not know the pleasure of having a country! His hands have been formed to wear chains!—Legislators! banish from among you this traitor!—this infamous wretch! Time will inform you who are the real regicides—whether those who wish for a constitutional King, or those who, wishing to restore despotism, have exposed him to the vengeance of a people determined either to perish or be free. It is true, the Marseillaise consider all Kings as the scourges of the earth; but if they are desirous of freeing themselves from theirs, it is not by crimes, but by the sovereign will of the people. Louis XVI. has dug the grave of royalty—the only service he could have rendered France”—[*Loud and reiterated applauses followed this address.*]

M. Cranet, of Marseilles.—“An administrator of the Bouches-du-Rhone has just sent me the printed copy of a letter, written by M. Blancgilly to Boyer, the chief of the conspiracy which was to cut the throats of all the members of the administrative body of our city.”—Several voices cried out; ‘Read, read the letter!’ on which the following sentences were read:—‘The Jacobins will never succeed in establishing republicanism, nor the Feuillants in establishing monarchy. Nothing could exceed the courage of our good King and his august spouse. On the 20th of June, they were robbed of a considerable quantity of plate and jewels. Our armies are every where defeated. The King of Prussia will be at Coblentz on the 13th. Every thing will go on well. He will spend the autumn in Paris. About the end of July, or middle of August, Monsieur will be declared Regent of the kingdom, and Louis XVI. *really* King of France, will no longer be the constitutional King of the French.’—[*Murmurs of indignation was heard from all sides of the hall.*]

M. Lacroix.—“I moved for a decree of accusation against M. Blancgilly, because I believed that this copy had been collated by an administrator; but as it is only printed, he must be ordered to the tribune to answer interrogatories [several voices cried out, *No no;—at the bar*] at the tribune (continued the speaker) for, until a decree of accusation has been passed against a representative of the people, he is considered as innocent. I request that the Assembly may order one of its messengers to repair to his house, and summon him to come immediately to the Assembly.”—This proposition was adopted.

M. Lafource was of opinion that a seal should be immediately put upon his papers.

M. Lacroix thought the measure would be precipitate—it would be an infringement of inviolability. He moved, therefore, that two Gendarmeries should accompany the messenger, and remain with the Deputy till his appearance.—Adopted.

Messieurs Bazire, Goupilleau, and Merlin, the commissioners sent to take an inventory of the King's papers, announced that they had found, in his cabinet, letters addressed by the society of Marseilles to that of the Jacobins at Paris, under cover to M. Blancgilly, because they were afraid of their being intercepted at the post-office. Instead of delivering these letters to the society, M. Blancgilly had sent them to the King, with notes, in which he marks out certain persons, and gives information of their designs.—[*Signs of indignation.*]

The Assembly then decreed,

“ 1. That the sum of 500,000 livres, allowed for the maintenance of the King and Royal Family, shall be paid from the National Treasury, on receiving a receipt from the person whom the King shall appoint to receive it.

“ 2. It shall be divided into equal portions, and paid weekly.

“ 3. The furniture and effects, necessary for the use of the King and Royal Family, shall be this day transported to the Hotel of the Minister of Justice.

“ 4. The Minister of Public Contributions is charged with the Administration of the domains of the Civil List. He is authorized to discharge necessary debts; and the revenues and produce from the domains shall be carried to the National Treasury.

“ 5. No person shall be admitted to see the King without an order from the Municipality.”

On a motion of M. Carnot, the Assembly decreed,

“ 1. That all those citizens of Paris, and its environs, who wish to exhibit a new proof of their patriotism and zeal, by concurring in the formation of a body of national cavalry, are requested to give in their names to the Municipality, who shall keep a register for that purpose.

“ 2. Such citizens as are desirous of supporting this plan, shall declare whether their intention be to take up arms themselves, and to provide their own horses.

“ 3. The names of those who cannot serve in person, and who may, however, be desirous of furnishing horses, shall be inscribed in a separate register.

“ 4. The Assembly charge their Committee to present immediately the plan of a decree for forming this body.”

One of the commissioners, intrusted with the care of examining the Civil List, informed the Assembly that a great number of pieces had been already examined, in which were many

many things of importance, and requested that they might be referred to the Committee of Safety. "If we found, said they, a variety of letters from many persons, who, in order to gain court favours, had acted the part of bad citizens, we found some from others who behaved with that openness and dignity which becomes sons of freedom."

M. Thuriot requested that every body of national gendarmes whatever, should have the right of naming their own officers. He observed, that the horse gendarmes had done the greatest services, and that they alone had saved their country.

Some municipal officers now presented themselves at the bar, one of whom, M. Manuel, spoke as follows:—"Legislators, France is free, because the King is at length subject to the law. It was reserved for you to give a grand example to all nations. No right now remains to Louis XVI. but that of justifying himself before the sovereignty of the people, and this right alone entitles him to the protection of the nation. The Temple may serve at present as a habitation for him and his family. He will be guarded by twenty men, furnished from each of the forty-eight Sections. If you will entrust the King, his wife, and sister, to the nation, they shall be conducted thither to-morrow *with all respect due to their misfortunes*. All correspondence with them must be forbidden, *for they have no friends but traitors*. The streets through which they may pass, shall be lined with soldiers of the Revolution, who will make them blush for having entertained an idea that slaves could be found among them base enough to support despotism; and their greatest punishment will be to hear the shouts of *Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberté!*"

The President informed M. Manuel that the Assembly had already passed a decree, by which the Hotel of the Minister of Justice was fixed on as a place proper for the habitation of the King and royal family.

M. Manuel.—"The municipality, who propose to be answerable for the person of the King, cannot be so after the decree which you have passed. The Hotel of the Minister of Justice is surrounded by a great number of houses, which may afford the ready means of an escape: Whereas the Temple stands by itself, and is inclosed with high walls."

The Assembly then left to the Community of Paris to determine on a place proper for the residence of the King, and entrusted to them the *care of detaining him in custody*.

M. Lecointere—"The Minister, who to-day is the best of patriots, may, to-morrow, change his principles, and make a bad choice of responsible persons. I request, therefore, that all officers may be appointed by the soldiers."—[*Loud applause.*].—The motion was decreed.

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M. Lecointre Puyraveau read a declaration, made by an officer of the national guard, which shewed that the Palace of the Thuilleries had been filled with assassins disguised in all dresses, and principally in those of the national guard.

He endeavoured to prove the traitorous intentions of the Swiss officers, and said that they had dispersed themselves among the grenadiers of the national guard; and whispered to them, in order to induce them to massacre the Marseillaise who placed themselves at the head of those who assailed the castle. He mentioned the threats that had been denounced against them by the former satellites of the King, in case they should refuse to cry out *Vive le Roi! Vive le Reine!*—Referred to the Committee of Safety.

A deputation from the Council General of the Community appeared at the bar. The spokesman said,

“The Council General of the Community has sent us to you on an object which interests the public safety. After the grand events, by which the *sovereign people* and you yourselves have recovered liberty, there can exist no intermediate power between you and the people. It is a communication of lights which nourishes public liberty.—Guided, therefore, by the same patriotism which has raised the Parisians, and all France, to that pinnacle of grandeur to which they have attained, you can and ought to hear the language of truth spoken by the mouths of their delegates. We now address you respecting a decree which you passed this morning on the organization of a new directory of the department. The people, compelled to watch over their own safety, have proceeded for their security by delegates; obliged to employ the most vigorous measures to save the State; those whom they have chosen for magistrates must be invested with that plenitude of power which belongs to a Sovereign. If you create another power, which may bear down or balance the authority of the immediate delegates of the people, the popular force will no longer possess unity; and there will exist, in the machine of your government, the seeds of eternal discord, which will inspire the enemies of liberty with the most criminal hopes. The people, therefore, to deliver themselves from this power so destructive to their sovereignty, must once more arm themselves with their vengeance. In this new organization they behold, between you and them, a new authority, which, as before, will tend only to embarrass the proceedings of the community. When the people have saved their country, when you have appointed a national convention to supply yourself, *what else have you to do but to satisfy their wishes?* Are you afraid of trusting to the wisdom of the people, who watch over the safety of a country,

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which can only be saved by them? It was by establishing discordant authorities that they lost their liberty—it is only by union, and by establishing a direct communication with their representatives, that they can now preserve it. Deign, therefore, to secure us against the dangers of a measure which would destroy what the people have accomplished—deign to preserve to us the means of remaining free. Thus shall you share in the glories of those heroes who have united to promote the happiness of the human race; and thus shall you carry with you, when about to finish your career, the blessings of a free people.

“ We conjure you to take this matter into serious consideration, and to confirm the decree passed by the Council-General of the Community of Paris, in order that a new directory of the department may not be formed.”—[*Loud applauses.*]

M. Thuriot.—“ We are convinced that in the present circumstances harmony should prevail between the representatives of the people and the Community of Paris, and that it is from this union alone that public liberty can result. We must above all simplify the machine of government; for the simpler it is made, the more effectual will be its efforts. At present it is peculiarly necessary that there should be no intermediate power between you and the people, and that the magistrates of the latter should have a direct communication with the Legislative body; I therefore support the request of the petitioners, and move *that the decree passed this morning may be re-considered.*”

M. Lacroix.—“ It is sufficient that the directory of the department has not the power of inspecting the operations of the community; but I think we ought to let it still subsist, at least the section which is charged with the collecting of contributions: I move, therefore, *That the directory of the department shall not, in future, exercise the power of inspecting the acts of the Municipality, excepting in such matters as concern the public contributions.*”—Decreed.

On a motion made by M. Thuriot, the Assembly decreed,

“ That the decree by which the soldiers of the national gendarmerie of Paris were authorized to name their own officers, should be extended to those of all the departments.”

ORDER FOR CONDUCTING THE KING TO THE TEMPLE.

DECREE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AUG. 12.

“ The National Assembly decrees, that the King and his family are entrusted in conformity to the law, to the guard, and

and the virtues of the citizens of Paris, that in consequence, the representatives of the commons shall provide, without delay, and on their responsibility, for lodging them, and shall take all the measures of safety, which wisdom and the national interest require."

Conformable to the above decree, the Council General of the Commons chose the Temple for the place of the residence of the King and his family, and charged the Provisional Commandant General to take all the measures he shall judge proper to assure the execution of the decree.

[Then follows an order of march for the guard attending the royal family, on their way from the convent of the Feuillans to the Temple, signed Santerre, provisional Commandant General of the armed Sections.]

They left the Feuillans at three o'clock on Monday afternoon, August 13.

The multitude that surrounded the royal carriage was immense. The procession was stopt by the crowd at the Place Vendôme, that his Majesty, says the vehement Gorfus, might contemplate the fate of his tyrant ancestors—in the overthrow of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV.—a statue inaugurated on the 10th of August, 1692, and overthrown on the 10th of August, 1792. It will shew the spirit of the day, if we copy the words with which Gorfus concludes his account of this removal of the royal family to their new abode, "Oh! Louis XVI. thou hast forced Frenchmen to hate thee! Thou hast shed their blood! Thou hast coolly given orders for murder and carnage! Thou art now unfortunate, and honest men pity thee! They wish that thy crimes would permit them to pardon thee!"

During the procession of the King and royal family to the Temple, M. Petion was obliged to warn the Queen not to look at the people with so confident an air (*de regarder le peuple avec moins d'assurance*). "You see," said she to him, "that the people are calm." "I know, on the contrary, Madam," said he, "that they are very much the contrary—that they are very much irritated, and may at this instant be provoked by a glance."

[We will here leave the Court, and resume our detail of the operations of the armies.]

On the 30th of July, the French Minister at War communicated to the National Assembly an itinerary of M. la Fayette's army

army during the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th days of July, the time during which the fears of the Assembly were alarmed concerning its movements.

On the 23d, the troops appointed to go where the enemy's greatest force was posted, were assembled by command of the General; they took their march to return to the frontier on the side of the Rhine; the advanced guard made their way. On the 24th, some corps of the enemy's troops opposed them, whom they repulsed and continued their route. On the morrow, the attack was renewed, when M. Desmotes, aid-du-camp, was dangerously wounded; he was assisted by M. Latout-Maubourg, and the enemy were repulsed with considerable loss. Another body of the enemy occupied the village Befaney, from which they also were driven. On the 26th, they arrived at the camp at Longwi. This account was signed by M. Launfay, Officer.

A few days before, a party of Austrians attacked the village of Orchies, a small distance from Lille; but were repulsed with considerable loss.

Another detachment entered the little town of Bavay, and threw up some works, which gave an appearance of an intention to take post there. They ravaged and plundered all the neighbouring country. The French formed a camp at Maulde, and another at Farinars, which, in a little time, obliged the Austrians to abandon Bavay. But, before this evacuation took place, the general magazine at Valenciennes was consumed by fire, supposed to have been done by design. During the fire, a party of Austrians penetrated to Jeanlin, but were driven back with loss.

On the 29th of July, the municipality of Bavay sent an express to Quesnoy, with information, that the enemy had raised their camp and evacuated the place, at two o'clock that morning, marching towards Mons. During their stay they had seized every sort of public and private property that could be taken away, and the peasantry in all the neighbourhood were reduced to the utmost distress. Bavay was the only place the Austrians at this time held in France.

On the 26th, 27th, and 29th of July, there were three skirmishes between the Austrians and French, in each of which the French repulsed the Austrians. The colonel of the Austrian regiment of Elterhazy was taken prisoner.

General Arthur Dillon, brother of the late General Dillon, who holds a large command on the northern frontier of France, issued a proclamation, requiring the Mayors and Municipal Officers of all the towns and villages along the frontiers, in the name of the law, and the danger of their country, to give in,

with all possible dispatch, to Major-General Chazat, particular accounts of the number of national guards in each town and village, the quantity, and kinds of arms and ammunition in their possession, and the number of their national guards who are willing to co-operate with the troops under his command in clearing the forest of Mormaille, and the country adjacent, of the light troops and free-booters of the enemy; and declaring, that it is his intention to distribute as great a quantity of arms and ammunition as he can possibly spare, and that such of the national guards as cannot leave their homes for any great length of time, shall receive the same pay and rations of provisions as the regular troops, for every day they continue to act with them.

The Austrians evacuated Bavay as the French did West Flanders. Quefnay, Avesnes, Landrecy, and Maubeuge, have received fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and artillery.

If General Luckner had been permitted to maintain his conquests, which he might, and doubtless would have increased, France would have obtained a considerable diversion of the Austrian and Prussian troops in her favour in that part. But the Executive Power (*i. e.* the French King) ordered M. Luckner to abandon his conquests and progress in Flanders, to withdraw from that country, and to act upon the DEFENSIVE, which was the most flagrant act of parricide he could at that moment commit; because it gave the Austrians and Prussians the most ample opportunity to collect and assemble their forces, and to act offensively against France: Whereas, had M. Luckner been allowed to proceed, the Austrian and Prussian armies would have been employed to recover the places which had been lost.

The National Assembly did not in the first hour perceive the extent of this deep policy, or rather consummate parricide; they were deceived by the specious appearance given by the Executive Power, to the description of the prudence of the military operations (*see page 217*), without taking a moment to reflect on so important a change in the management of the army. And this most interesting fact, unquestionably shews, that the King must have had men of deep design, consummate intrigue, and despotic principle, to frame the measure, and at the same time deceive the French with a shew of its utility, which was founded in nothing but silly argument, fictitious descriptions, and deceitful promises. Perhaps in no act of duplicity of the King has he been more reprehensible than in this.

In consequence of this system of politics, of the *interior* Cabinet of France, (namely, to act on the DEFENSIVE), the enemies of the French had ample opportunity to concert, and

to prepare to execute a concerted plan of operations.—At this time, the enemies of France were more instigated by the hope of plunder than confidence in the justice of the cause in which they were engaged.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL ARTHUR DILLON
TO THE WAR MINISTER, DATED THE SECOND OF
AUGUST, 1792.

“ Desertion continues amongst the Austrians. All the soldiers are discontented at being led far from their country to fight for the emigrants.

“ There is, at present, a very violent fermentation at Mons and Tournay. No soldier from the camp is permitted to enter into the town; the magazines are evacuated. I am enabled, by my own experience, to judge how little confidence the enemy have, having observed what large entrenchments they make round small posts.

“ To protect two posts of thirty men, they had formed an *abbatis* of trees of half a league; which, however, did not prevent Lieutenant-Colonel Richardot from putting those two posts to the sword. The wish for battle, the love of order and of obedience increases daily in our army. If we could have a reinforcement of men and muskets, the greatest success might be hoped.

“ The enemy make a sort of war, which will not conciliate favour for them; and Bavay and Orchies are remembered only for their barbarities. I cannot too much recommend to the justice of the King, Lieutenant-Colonel Richardot.

(Signed)

“ ARTHUR DILLON.”

On the 7th of August were read in the National Assembly letters from M. M. Dumourier, Arthur Dillon, and Luckner. That from the two first Generals, dated “Camp at Maulde, August 4,” gives an account of two *sorties*, made from the camp on the preceding night. In the first, several corps of Tyroleans were beaten in the neighbourhood of the camp; but two French detachments fired upon each other in the dark, and five men were so killed. In the other, the French troops, guided by deserters, put to the sword two marauding detachments of the enemy, and one, which had occupied an estate, called Morles. The first battalion of Paris, and the legion of Belgians, were in these affairs.

The letter from Mareschal Luckner stated, that M. M. Biron and de Custine, having made an expedition beyond Landau, a regiment of dragoons of the advanced guards, commanded by M. de Custine, had cut in pieces four hundred Hungarian hus-

sars. Twenty-five dragoons, of whom one was an officer, fell in the affair. M. M. de Biron and Custine being informed, that, if they advanced, they must fall in with several thousand Austrians, returned to Landau.

Desertion continues among the Austrian troops. An hundred and twenty arrived in one day at Valenciennes.

The following letter relates the event of another engagement:

CAMP AT MAULDE.

August 5.

“An hundred and five Austrian deserters came into the camp, yesterday, bringing with them their arms and baggage. They declared to the General, that our advanced guard would be attacked, in the ensuing night, by twelve hundred Austrians.

“An ambuscade was accordingly formed, during the night, of four battalions, with cannon. At two o'clock, an heavy sound announced the approach of the enemy's party. They were suffered to advance close to the posts, and on a sudden the cannon, loaded with grape shot, and all the musketry, were fired upon them. Another volley instantly succeeded, scattering death and alarm amongst them.

“They precipitated themselves in disorder upon each other; their officers in vain endeavoured to rally them, and they fled, leaving the greatest part of their muskets. Twenty waggons of wounded have been brought in, with a great number of prisoners, and fifteen horses, belonging to the officers. The number of dead has not been announced.”

In consequence of the preceding information respecting desertion, the National Assembly unanimously passed the following decree:

“1. Every officer or soldier of the enemies' armies, who, desiring to range themselves under the banners of liberty, shall appear at a military post, or before one of the constituted authorities, or a French citizen, shall be received with fraternity; shall be presented, as a sign of his adoption, with a cockade of three colours; shall enjoy a pension for life of an hundred livres, of which one quarter shall be always in advance, and shall be admitted to take the civic oath. The pension, upon their decease, shall be continued to their widows.

“2. Those who would not contract a military engagement shall not be forced to it; those who chuse it, shall be admitted to what army they please, and shall receive the ordinary fee upon enlisting.

“3. Lifts shall be formed of foreigners in the service of France, and the pensions of those who die shall be continued to

to the survivors, till the latter shall have annuities of 500 livres each.

“ 4. The widows of such military persons will receive the annual pension of 100 livres, but will not share the benefits of the Tontine.

“ 5. Those who do not make a military engagement shall retire into the interior of this kingdom; those who shall serve will have the same reward for brilliant actions as French citizens.

“ 6. If France shall ever be drawn into a war with a free nation, exercising its own sovereignty, military persons of that nation are not to have the advantages of the present decree.”

By the check given by the executive power (*i. e. the King's*) the progress of the French army in the Netherlands being arrested, the Austrians and Prussians enjoyed every convenience unmolested to prepare measures. Their sovereigns also had full opportunity to concert, in person, their respective plans and views. So early as the 20th day of July, the French emigrants had a camp near Neubourg in the Electorate of Mentz (or Mayence as the French call it) with the consent of the Elector. The Duke of Brunswick, and Prince Nassau, in the service of Russia, were both there; as it would not be decent that a Constitutional Minister of the King of the French should be found in such company, the Elector, a few days before their arrival, had the precaution to signify to M. Villars, that his presence would displease, and he had therefore better retire; and a note to that purpose, was sent to his Minister on the 14th instant, a copy of which follows:—

“ The undersigned has received orders from his Electoral Highness, to notify the following to his Excellency the Minister Plenipotentiary of France.

“ The arrival of the King of Hungary and Bohemia, elected Supreme Chief of the Empire, the uninterrupted march of his troops, and of those of his Prussian Majesty, towards the borders of the Rhine, and the considerable augmentation of the number of French emigrants in the Electorate of Mayence and the adjoining States, are facts which cannot have escaped the knowledge and observation of the Minister Plenipotentiary, and who, in the present circumstances, cannot be indifferent to it, as it is not in the power of his Electoral Highness to guarantee him absolutely from the effects which may possibly result therefrom.

“ The Elector, jealous to observe every thing that is conformable to the rights of nations towards the Minister of a power against whom no war has been declared on the part of the Empire, wishes to draw the attention of the Minister Plenipotentiary of France to this state of things, leaving to his consideration
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if it will not be better to retire from this country in a moment, which in respect to him does not permit either the perfect safety, or the usual reception in this court, shewn to Ministers who are appointed to reside here.

(Signed)

“THE BARON D’ALBINE.”

BON, *July 16.*

The King of Prussia left Mayence the 22d of this month, and slept the same night at Coblenz. The six following days he reviewed his troops. During the time that the King of Prussia and the Emperor, and the different Princes of the Empire staid at Mayence, a number of conferences were held between them and their Ministers; and on the 20th of July one took place between the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Electors and the Duke of Brunswick; but the French Princes were not admitted to it. They were at Frankfort; but the interview was not, it seems, to their satisfaction. They were not permitted to assist at the conferences at Mayence, as they wish to keep the plans of the future political and military operations a secret, and they are fearful that the too great ardour and zeal of the emigrants would destroy the effect of their projects. The Elector of Mayence, it is true, has ordered his subjects to consider the French under the command of the princes, as Imperial troops; but the French in general have on the other hand been prohibited from approaching Mayence during the stay of the Emperor and his Prussian Majesty.

BRUSSELS, *Aug. 8.*

The plan concerted by the reigning Duke of Brunswick, Commander in Chief of the combined armies for the attack of France, begins to develope itself, and the side on which the grand attacks will be made is now discernible. General Prince de Hohenlohe, Governor of Prague, Commander of the Austrian army in Brisgaw, is to receive a reinforcement of Prussian troops, which, joined to the Imperial corps now under his command, and a division of French emigrants commanded by the Prince de Condé, will form a considerable army. The Duke of Brunswick reserves to himself the command of the center, comprising the major part of the combined forces: He will have under him the Count d’Artois, with his French division. His army will be the strongest, and probably that which will make the grand attack. It is supposed that he will proceed by Sedan, Montmedi, Longwy, and through Champagne direct to Paris, whilst the principal corps of the French army will be occupied

in resisting the attacks that may be made on them. A third army is forming in Austrian Luxembourg, under the command of General de Clairfait, to which will be joined some Prussian regiments, and the third division of the French emigrants, known by the name of the Marine Corps, and commanded by Count d'Egmont. It is in consequence of these new dispositions that the Austrian army, which was encamped in the plain of Malplaquet, has abandoned that advantageous situation, to resume that which it occupied before, and afterwards detached a corps of 14,000 men to join General Clairfait's army in Luxembourg. The remainder of the Austrian troops, which are to compose the army in the Low Countries, will continue under the command of his Royal Highness the Prince de Saxe-Teschen. A considerable quantity of all sorts of ammunition was sent from this place on the 6th inst. for Luxembourg. The Prussian troops, which are to join the army of General de Clairfait in Austrian Lombardy, are expected there the 7th of this month. The Duke de Bourbon, eldest son to the Prince de Condé, joins the army of General de Clairfait.

The respective plans of operations having been all settled, the Prussian troops began to march from the neighbourhood of Triers on the 11th of August. Their route was towards Sierck and Diedenhoven, and that very night a slight skirmish took place between a small party of them, and a little detachment of the French.

On the same day the King of Prussia reviewed the army of French emigrants, encamped near St. Mary's Abbey, in the plains of Triers, consisting of 10,000 men. After the review, his Majesty dined with the French Princes at the Abbey of St. Maximin; forty persons sat down to table. The next day the emigrant army occupied the camp at Konz, which the Prussians had quitted the day before.

On the 12th a detachment of Prussian hussars and chasseurs made themselves masters of the important post of Sierck, a small town not far distant from Thionville; eighteen of the national guards were killed in the attack, and fifteen taken prisoners. After the Prussians had entered the town, and overcome all resistance of the military, some of the inhabitants fired upon them from their windows, and killed two Prussian hussars. The commander would have been warranted, by the Duke of Brunswick's declaration, in giving the town up to plunder, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword, in consequence of this act; he told the people, however, that as an instance of his humanity, he would spare the town, and remain satisfied with the punishment of those who had fired from the windows. These people were accordingly brought forth, and immediately

immediately executed by the hands of the common hangman, and their houses were pulled down, and so completely demolished, that even the foundations were not suffered to remain. So much for the Prussian mode of making war!

On the 15th the Duke of Brunswick's army began to move. His object is to enter France by Lorraine.

The same day the Austrian General Clairfait, marched towards Montmedi.

On that day also, the King of Prussia, with his two sons, and a numerous train of General-officers, arrived at Luxembourg. As the Prussians advanced, the French fell back.

When the National Assembly of France had found the necessity of suspending and confining the King, and had been informed of the union and plan of operations of the Prussians and Austrians, they issued the following State Paper; which was written by M. Condorcet, and adopted by the Assembly, on the 13th day of August, 1792: as the most proper and full explanation of their conduct:

EXPOSITION OF THE MOTIVES

ON WHICH

THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

HAVE PROCLAIMED THE

CONVOCATION OF A NATIONAL CONVENTION,

AND PRONOUNCED THE SUSPENSION OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER
IN THE HANDS OF THE KING.

“ The National Assembly owe to the nation, to Europe, and to posterity, a rigorous account of the motives which have determined their late resolutions.

“ Placed between the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and that of saving their country, they wished to fulfil both at the same time, and to do all that the public safety required, without usurping the powers with which the people had not entrusted them.

“ At the opening of their session, an assemblage of emigrants, formed on the frontiers, kept up a correspondence with all the enemies of liberty that were still to be found in the departments, or among the troops of the line; and fanatical priests, infusing trouble into superstitious minds, sought to persuade those deluded citizens, that the constitution wounded the rights of conscience, and that the law had confided the functions of religion to schismatical and sacrilegious persons.

“ Finally, a league formed among powerful kings, menaced the liberty of France; they fancied that they had a right to fix

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to what degree the interest of their despotism permitted us to be free, and flattered themselves, that they should see the sovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French empire, fall down before the arms of their slaves.

“ Thus every thing announced a civil and religious war, of which a foreign war would soon encrease the danger.

“ The National Assembly thought it their duty to repress the emigrants, and to restrain the factious priests by severe decrees; and the King employed against these decrees the suspensive refusal of sanction, which the constitution granted him. In the mean time, those emigrants and those priests were busily acting in the name of the King; it was to re-establish him in what they called his lawful authority that the former had taken up arms, and the latter were preaching assassination and treason. These emigrants were the brothers of the King, his relations, his former body guards. And while the correspondence of these facts, with the conduct of the King, authorized, nay, enjoined distrust, this refusal of the sanction applied to decrees that could not be suspended without being annihilated, shewed clearly how the veto, suspensive according to the law, rendered definitive by the manner of employing it, gave to the King the unlimited and arbitrary power of rendering null all the measures which the Legislative Body might think necessary for maintaining liberty.

“ From that moment, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people shewed those gloomy discontents that announced storms, and the suspicions which accused the Executive Power, displayed themselves with energy.

“ The National Assembly were not discouraged. Princes who professed themselves the allies of France, had given to the emigrants not an asylum, but the liberty of arming, of forming themselves into military bodies, of levying soldiers, of providing warlike stores; and the King was invited, by a solemn message, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, a silence that had been kept but too long. He seemed to yield to the national wish; preparations for war were ordered; but it was soon perceived, that the negotiations conducted by a Ministry, weak or treacherous, were confined to obtaining vain promises, which remaining unexecuted, could not be regarded but as a snare or an insult. The league of Kings assumed, in the mean time, a new activity; and at the head of this league appeared the Emperor, brother-in-law to the King of the French, united to the nation by a treaty useful to himself alone, which the constituting assembly, deceived by the Ministry, had maintained, by sacrificing, to preserve the hope at that time well-founded, of an alliance with the house of Brandenburg.

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"The National Assembly thought that it was necessary for the safety of France, to oblige the Emperor to declare whether he would be her ally or her enemy, and to pronounce between two contradictory treaties, of which the one bound him to give succours to France, and the other engaged him to attack her, treaties which he could not reconcile, without avowing the intention of separating the King from the nation, and of representing a war against the French people, as succours granted to his ally. The Emperor's answer augmented the distrust which this combination of circumstances rendered so natural. In it he repeated the absurd charges against the Assembly of the Representatives of the French people, against the popular societies established in our cities, with which the partizans of the French Ministry had long wearied the Counter-revolution presses. He made protestations of his desire to continue the ally of the King, and he had just signed a new league against France, in favour of the authority of the King of the French.

"These leagues, these treaties, the intrigues of the emigrants, who had solicited them in the name of the King, had been concealed by the Ministers from the representatives of the people. No public disavowal of these intrigues, no effort to prevent or dissolve this conspiracy of monarchs, had shewn either to the citizens of France, or the nations of Europe, that the King had sincerely united his own cause to that of the nation.

"This apparent connivance between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of Vienna, struck every mind; the National Assembly thought it their duty to examine with vigour the conduct of the Minister for Foreign Affairs; and a decree of accusation was the result of this examination. His colleagues disappeared with him, and the King's Council was formed of patriot Ministers.

"The successor of Leopold followed the course of his father. He thought proper to require for the Princes, formerly possessing feifs in Alsace, indemnifications incompatible with the French constitution, and derogatory to the independence of the nation. He wanted France to betray the confidence, and violate the rights of the people of Avignon. At length, he announced other causes of complaint, which could not, he said, be discussed before having tried the force of arms.

"The King seemed to feel, that this provocation to war could not be borne patiently, without betraying a shameful weakness; he seemed to feel how perfidious was this language of an enemy who pretended to take an interest in his fate, and to desire his alliance, for no purpose but to sow seeds of discord between him and his people, calculated to enervate our forces,

forces, and to stop or disconcert their motions; he proposed war by the unanimous advice of his Council, and war was decreed.

"By protecting the assemblages of the emigrants, by permitting them to menace our frontiers, by shewing troops in readiness to second them on the first success, by preparing a retreat for them, by persisting in a threatening league, the King of Hungary obliged France to make preparations of defence, ruinous in their expence, exhausted her finances, encouraged the audacity of the conspirators dispersed through the Departments, excited uneasiness among the citizens, and thus fomented in them, and perpetuated trouble. Never did hostilities more really justify war, and to declare was only to repel it.

"The National Assembly were then able to judge to what degree, notwithstanding promises so often repeated, all the preparations of defence had been neglected. Nevertheless, their uneasiness, their distrust, still rested on the former Ministers, on the secret Councils of the King; but they soon saw the patriotic Ministers crossed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of the Royal authority, by those who made a parade of personal attachment to the King.

"Our armies were tormented with political divisions: Discord was sown among the commanders of the troops, as between the generals and the Ministry. Attempts were made to transform into the instruments of a party, which concealed not its desire of subsisting its will for that of the representatives of the nation, those very armies that were destined to the external defence of the French territory, and to maintain the national independence.

"The machinations of the priests becoming more active in the moment of war, made a restraining law indispensable—one was passed.

"The formation of a camp between Paris and the frontiers was a disposition happily calculated for external defence, while at the same time, it served to give security to the internal departments, and to prevent the troubles with which their disquiets might have produced; the formation of such a camp was ordered; but these two decrees were rejected by the King, and the patriotic Ministers were dismissed.

"The constitution had granted to the King a guard of 1800 men, and this guard audaciously manifested a contempt of civic duties, which inspired the citizens with indignation, or with terror; hatred of the constitution, and above all, of liberty and equality, were the best titles for being admitted into it.

"The Assembly was forced to dissolve this guard, to prevent

vent both the troubles which it could not fail soon to occasion, and the plots of a Counter-revolution, of which but too many indications were already manifest. The decree was sanctioned; but a proclamation by the King bestowed praises on those very men, whose dismissal from his service he had just pronounced, to those whom he had admitted to be men justly accused of being the enemies of liberty.

“ The new Ministers excited well-founded distrust; and as this distrust could not stop at them, it fell on the King himself.

“ The application of the refusal of sanction to decrees, rendered necessary by circumstances, of which the execution ought to have been prompt, and must stop with the decrees, was regarded in the general opinion, as an interpretation of the constitutional act, contrary to liberty, and even to the spirit of the constitution. The agitation of the people of Paris became extreme; an immense croud of citizens joined to form a petition; in it, they solicited the recal of the patriotic Ministers, and the retraction of the refusal to sanction the decrees in favour of which the public opinion had been loudly declared. They desired leave to pass in arms before the National Assembly, after their Deputies had read their petition. This leave, which other armed bodies had before obtained, was granted them. They desired to present the same petition to the King, and to present it under the forms established by the law; but at the moment when municipal officers were coming to inform them, that their deputies, who had been refused at first, were going to be admitted, the gate was opened, and the croud rushed into the palace. The zeal of the Mayor of Paris, the ascendancy which his virtues and his patriotism gave him over the minds of the citizens, the presence of the representatives of the people, of whom successive deputations constantly surrounded the King, prevented all serious disorders, and few assemblages so numerous ever gave occasion to less disorder of any kind.

“ The King had mounted the ensigns of liberty, he had done justice to the citizens, by declaring, that he thought himself in safety in the midst of them; the day of the federation was approaching; citizens from all the departments were to repair to Paris, there to swear to maintain that liberty for which they were going to fight on the frontiers; and all might still have been repaired. But the Ministers saw nothing in the events of the 20th of June, but a favourable occasion for sowing division between the inhabitants of Paris, and those of the departments; between the people and the army; between the several portions of the national guard; between the
citizens

citizens who remained at their homes, and those who were flying to the defence of the State. The very next day the King changed his language; a proclamation, full of calumny, was profusely distributed among the armies; one of their Generals came in the name of that which he commanded, to demand vengeance, and to point out his victims. A considerable number of directories of department by unconstitutional resolutions, disclosed the plan they had long before formed, of raising themselves into a sort of intermediate power between the people and their representatives; between the National Assembly and the King. Justices of the Peace commenced, in the very palace of the Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which it was hoped to involve those of the patriots, whose vigilance and whose talents were the most dreaded. Already one of these justices had attempted to infringe the inviolability of the representatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan dexterously concerted for finding in the judicial order, the means of giving an arbitrary extension to the Royal authority. Letters from the Minister for the Home Department, directing the employing of force against the federates, who might wish to take at Paris the oath to fight for liberty, and it required all the activity of the National Assembly, all the patriotism of the army, all the zeal of the enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of disorganization, which might have lighted up the flames of civil war. An emotion of patriotism had extinguished in fraternal union, the divisions that had appeared but too often in the National Assembly, and from this also the means of safety might have sprung. The prosecutions commenced by the King's order, at the instance of the Intendant of the Civil List, might have been stopped. The virtuous Petion punished, by an unjust suspension, for having spared the blood of the people, might have been reinstated by the King; and it was possible, that this long series of faults and treasons, might have fallen again entirely upon those perfidious counsellors, to whom a confiding people had the long habit of attributing all the crimes of our Kings.

“ The National Assembly then saw, that the safety of the country required extraordinary measures.

“ They opened a discussion on the means of saving their country; they instituted a commission charged to consider of and prepare a plan of these means.

“ The declaration that the country is in danger, called all the citizens to the common defence, all persons in public trust to their posts, and yet in the midst of complaints unceasingly repeated of the inaction of government, on the neglect, or ill management of the preparations for war, on the useless or danger-

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ous motions of the armies, the avowed object of which was to favour the political plans of one of the Generals, Ministers unknown or suspected, were seen to succeed one another rapidly, and to present, under new names, the same inactivity, and the same principles.

“ A declaration of the General of the enemy, which doomed to death all freemen, and promised to cowards and traitors his disgraceful protection, could not but add to these suspicions. In it the enemy of France seemed to attend to nothing but the defence of the King of the French. Twenty-six millions of men were nothing in his estimation, in comparison of a privileged family; their blood must wet the earth to avenge the slightest insult; and the King, instead of expressing his indignation against a manifesto intended to take from him the confidence of the people, seemed to oppose to it, and that reluctantly, a cold and timid disavowal.

“ Who then can be astonished that distrust in the supreme head of the Executive Power should inspire citizens with the desire of no longer seeing the forces intended for the common defence at the disposition of a King, in whose name France was attacked, and the care of maintaining her internal tranquillity confided to him, whose interests were the pretexts of all her troubles? To these motives, common to all France, were joined others, particular to the inhabitants of Paris. They saw the families of the conspirators at Coblenz, forming the habitual society of the King and his family. Writers paid by the civil list endeavoured by base calumnies to render the Parisians odious or suspected in the eyes of the rest of France. Attempts were made to sow division between the poor citizens and the rich; the National Guard was agitated by perfidious manœuvres, in order to form in it a party of royalists. In fine, the enemies of liberty seemed to be divided between Paris and Coblenz, and their audacity increased with their number.

“ The Constitution enjoined the King to give notice of imminent hostilities to the National Assembly; and long solicitations were necessary to obtain of the Ministry the tardy information of the march of the Prussian troops. The Constitution pronounced abdication against the King if he did not, by some formal act, declare his opposition to enterprizes undertaken in his name against the nation; and the emigrant Princes had opened public loans in the King's name, had hired foreign troops in his name, had levied French regiments in his name, had formed a military household for him out of France; and these facts were known for more than six months before the King, whose public declarations, whose remonstrances with foreign powers, might have hindered the success of these mea-

tures, had discharged the duty imposed upon him by the Constitution.

"It was on motives thus powerful that numerous petitions, sent from a great number of the departments, the wish of several sections of Paris, followed by the general expression of the wish of the whole Commons, solicited the forfeiture of the King, or the suspension of the Royal power; and the National Assembly could no longer shrink from the examination of this grand question.

"It was their duty not to decide but after a mature and well-considered examination, after a solemn discussion, after having heard and weighed all opinions. But the patience of the people was exhausted; all at once, they appeared united as one man in the same will; they marched towards the place of the King's residence, and the King came to seek an asylum in the Assembly of the Representatives of the people, whose seat he knew that the fraternal union of the inhabitants of Paris, with the citizens of the Departments, would always render an asylum inviolable and sacred.

"National Guards had been charged with defending the residence which the King had abandoned, but with them Swiss soldiers were stationed. The people had long seen, with painful surprise, Swiss battalions sharing the guard of the King, although the Constitution did not allow him to have a foreign guard. It had long been easy to foresee that this direct violation of the law, which by its nature constantly obtruded itself on every eye, would sooner or later occasion great misfortunes. The National Assembly had neglected nothing to prevent them. Reports, discussions, motions made by individual members and referred to committees, had apprized the King several months before of the necessity of dismissing from about his person men, whom every where else the French always regarded as friends and brothers, but whom they could not see retained about a constitutional King, in direct contradiction to the Constitution, without suspecting that they had become the instruments of the enemies of their liberty.

"A decree had ordered their removal: their commander, supported by the ministry, demanded changes in that decree: the National Assembly consented to those changes. A part of the soldiers was to remain near Paris, but without doing any duty that might renew disquiets; and it was contrary to the sense of the National Assembly, contrary to the law, that on the 10th of August they were employed on a service, from which every motive of humanity and of prudence ought to have kept them away; they received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the instant when the latter were inviting them to peace—when unequivocal

equivocal signs of fraternity announced that peace was going to be accepted—at the instant when a deputation of the National Assembly was seen advancing in the midst of arms, to speak the words of peace and conciliation, and prevent carnage. Then nothing could stop the vengeance of the people, who had thus proof of a new act of treachery, at the very moment they were coming to complain of those of which they had long been the victims.

“In the midst of these disasters, the National Assembly, afflicted but calm, took the oath to maintain equality and liberty, or to die at their post; they took the oath to save France, and they fought for the means.

“They saw but one, which was that of recurring to the will supreme of the people, and inviting them to exercise immediately their inalienable right of sovereignty, which the Constitution has recognized, and which it could not subject to any restriction. The public interest required that the people should manifest their will by the sense of a National Convention, formed of representatives invested by them with unlimited powers; it required no less than that the members of this convention should be elected in each department in a uniform manner, and according to a regular mode. But the National Assembly could not restrain the powers of the sovereign people, from whom alone the members of that Assembly hold all the powers they possess. They were bound to confine themselves to conjuring the people, in the name of their country, to follow the simple regulations traced out for them. In these, the forms instituted for elections were respected, because the establishment of new forms, even supposing them to have been better, would have been a source of delay, perhaps of division. They preserved in them none of the conditions of eligibility, none of the limitations of the right of electing or being elected, established by the former laws, because these laws, which are so many restrictions on the exercise of the right of sovereignty, are not applicable to a national convention, in which this right ought to be exercised with complete independence. The distinction of active citizens appears not in these regulations, because it is also a restriction of the law. The only conditions required are those which nature has prescribed, such as the necessity of being connected, by a fixed residence, with the territory for which the right of citizenship is exercised, of having attained the age at which men are held by the laws of the nation of which they make a part, to be in a condition to exercise their personal rights; finally, of having preserved absolute independence of will.

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“ But to assemble new representatives of the people required time; and although the National Assembly have made as short as possible, the periods of the operations which the convention made necessary; although they accelerated the period at which they must cease to bear the burden of the public weal, in such a manner as to avoid the least suspicion of ambitious views; the term of forty days would still have exposed the country to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous commotions, if to the King had been left the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the constitution; and the suspension of these powers appeared to the representatives of the people, the only means of saving France and Liberty.

“ In pronouncing this necessary suspension, the Assembly have not exceeded their powers. The constitution authorizes them to pronounce it in the case of the absence of the King, when the term at which this absence incurs a legal abdication is not yet arrived, that is to say, in the case in which there is not yet ground for a definitive resolution, but in which a provisional act of rigour is evidently necessary, in which it would be absurd to leave the power in hands, which could no longer make a free and beneficial use of it. In the present instance, then, these conditions are as evidently united as in the case provided for by the constitution, and in conducting ourselves by the principle which the constitution has pointed out, we have obeyed it—far from having infringed it contrary to our oaths.

“ The constitution foresaw, that all accumulation of powers was dangerous, and might change into tyrants of the people, those who ought to be only their representatives; but it judged also, that this danger supposed a long exercise of this extraordinary power, and the term of two months is that which it has fixed for all cases in which it permits this union of powers, which in all other cases it has so rigorously proscribed.

“ The National Assembly, far from extending this term, has reduced it to forty days only; and far from exceeding the period fixed by the law on the plea of necessity, they have brought themselves within the narrowest limits.

“ When the power of sanctioning the laws is suspended, the constitution has pronounced, that the decrees of the Legislative Body shall have of themselves the character and authority of laws; and since he, to whom the constitution gave the choice of ministers, could no longer exercise his functions, it was necessary that a new law should put the choice into other hands. The Assembly conferred the right on themselves, because this right could not be given but to electors who belonged

to the whole nation, and because they alone have that character at present. But they were careful to avoid giving ground for the suspicion that, in conferring this power on themselves, they sought to gratify ambitious or personal views; they decreed, that the election should be made aloud; that each of them should pronounce his choice in presence of the rational representation, in presence of the numerous citizens who attended their sittings. They took care that each of their own body should have his colleagues for his judges, the public for a witness, and should answer for his choice to the whole nation.

“ Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces against the foreign tyranny which dares to threaten with its vengeance twenty-six millions of freemen. Within six weeks a power, which every citizen acknowledges, will pronounce on our divisions: Woe to the man who listening, during this short interval, to personal sentiments, shall not devote himself wholly to the common defence, who shall not see, that at the moment when the sovereign will of the people is about to speak, we have no enemies but the conspirators of Pilnitz, and their accomplices.

“ It is in the midst of a foreign war, at the moment when numerous armies are preparing for a formidable invasion, that we call upon the citizens to discuss in a peaceable Assembly the rights of liberty. That which would have appeared rash among any other people, seemed to us not above the courage and the patriotism of the French; and undoubtedly we shall not have the misfortune of finding ourselves deceived in judging you worthy to forget every other interest, but that of liberty, of sacrificing every other sentiment to the love of your country.

“ Citizens, it is for you to judge, if your representatives have exercised for your good the powers you have confided to them, if they have acted according to your wishes, in making a use of their powers, which neither they nor you could foresee to be necessary. For us, we have discharged our duty in seizing with courage on the only means of preserving liberty that occurred to our consideration. Ready to die for it, at the post in which you have placed us, we shall carry with us, at least, on quitting that post, the consolation of having maintained it faithfully.

“ Whatever judgment our contemporaries or posterity may pass upon us, we shall not have to dread that of our own consciences; to whatever danger we may be exposed, the happiness will remain to us of having spared the torrents of French blood, which a conduct more weak would have made to flow; we shall be spared remorse at least; nor shall we have to reproach

proach ourselves with having seen a means of saving our country, and not having dared to embrace it.

(Signed)

“GUADET, *President.*

“GOUJON, G. ROMME, MARANS, CRESTIN, ARENA

“LECOINTE-PUIRAVAU, *Secretaries.*”

THE FOLLOWING IS A COPY OF THE MANIFESTO ISSUED BY THEIR MAJESTIES THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA, AGAINST THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

“Their majesties the Emperor and King of Prussia, in commencing a war, occasioned by the most unjust and most imperious circumstances, have successively and separately published the particular motives of their conduct. Animated, however, by a regard for the sacred interests of humanity, their imperial and royal majesties, thinking it not sufficient to have communicated to the different courts of Europe the circumstances which oblige them to have recourse to arms, consider it as of importance to their glory, and the happiness of their faithful subjects, to enlighten all nations respecting the causes and effects of the late deplorable revolution in France, and, in a manifesto, to lay open to the present generation, as well as to posterity, their motives, their intentions, and the disinterestedness of their personal views.

“Taking up arms for the purpose of preserving social and political order among all polished nations, and to secure to each State its religion, happiness, independence, territories, and real constitution, it is to be presumed the use which their imperial and royal majesties are about to make, for the general safety of the forces committed by Providence to their disposal, will console mankind, if possible, for the evils to which war has already exposed them, and for that blood which the disturbers of public tranquillity may yet cause to be shed. In this hope, their majesties have not hesitated to give to all nations, and to all individuals, the great example of forgetting, on the appearance of common danger, their ancient divisions, and their private concerns, that they may attend only to the public good, in a crisis so important, of which no instance is to be found in history. They think, and with justice, that, on this occasion, all empires, and all states, ought to be unanimous, and that all sovereigns, becoming the firm guardians of the happiness of mankind, cannot fail to unite their efforts, in order to rescue a numerous nation from its own fury; to preserve Europe from the return of barbarity, and the universe from that subversion and anarchy with which it is threatened.

“ However celebrated the French revolution may unhappily have been, a manifesto against it ought to exhibit a true picture of it; and it is by facts alone that the public can be enabled to judge of this grand cause of all nations, against faction and rebellion.

“ For four years past, Europe has viewed with attention, and beheld with increasing indignation, the revolution which has oppressed France, and which detains in captivity an august monarch, worthy of the love of his subjects, and entitled to the esteem, friendship, and support, of all sovereigns. -

“ Since his accession to the throne, it is well known that his most christian majesty has testified, in every possible manner, his affection for his subjects, his love of justice, his constant and sincere desire to establish order and oeconomy in the administration of his finances, and his honesty towards the creditors of the nation. To make personal sacrifices was his highest enjoyment, and a desire of complying with public opinion has always determined him in the choice of his measures: Continually employed in devising means for relieving his people, and for knowing and gratifying the public wishes, he has erred with them and for them; obeyed the dictates of humanity rather than those of justice; and overlooked their faults, in hopes that they would repair them without rendering it necessary for him to have recourse to punishment: Calumny itself has, however, always respected his intentions, and the most criminal and audacious factions, while attacking his sovereign authority, and insulting his sacred person, struck by his private virtues, have neither been able, nor dared to deny them.

“ After trying in vain every method that occurred to him of promoting the welfare of his subjects, of discharging the public debt of the nation—unfortunately in his choice of his measures, deceived in his hopes, and disappointed by various events—yet still firm in his benevolent intentions, and encouraged, though there was no occasion for his being so, by the queen and all the royal family, to incessantly pursue the object of his wishes, the darling passion of his heart, the happiness of his people, Louis XVI. not finding the succour which he sought in the assembly of the notables, convoked the states general of the kingdom. He was desirous of collecting around him, in the three orders of the monarchy, all his subjects, and to ask themselves by what means he could at length render them happy, scrupulous even in the form, and fearing to take any thing upon himself, he endeavoured to learn, in every manner possible, the public opinion respecting the calling together of the states-general; he found himself compelled, by circumstances which his goodness and magnanimous loyalty could not avoid,

to

to change, in this convocation, the ancient form followed by his predecessors *; he signed, without distrust, orders, insidiously and artfully drawn up, which endangered his sovereign authority, tended to excite discord, and insinuated disobedience to his commands. Under these fatal auspices, the states general met; and one of the best kings that France can boast of, addressed to this august, but soon after criminal, assembly, these valuable words, which sovereigns, who might have found them in their own sentiments, still take a pleasure in repeating:

‘ Every thing that can be expected from the tenderest interest in the happiness of the public—every thing that can be required of a sovereign, the best friend of his people, you may and ought to hope for from my sentiments†.’

“ These memorable expressions, which might have recovered the most estranged hearts, and the most alienated minds, and which ought, in a peculiar manner, to have inspired with the most lively gratitude, a people loaded with kindness by their King, were scarcely pronounced, when the signal of revolt was given on all sides. One of the three orders, converting a momentary concession into a right, and abusing a double representation, the object of which, on the part of the monarch, was to increase his information, without increasing his preponderance, wished, by taking the lead, to swallow up the other two, and to bear them down by its weight. In vain did the laws of the monarchy, the authority of precedent, the nature of things, and the sacred and imprescriptible rights of each order, oppose this ambitious, unjust, and illegal confusion. The resistance of the two first orders were soon overcome, by turning against them their love for the King; opposing the danger of the monarch to that of the monarchy, and exciting a revolt, which threatened in an imminent degree the life of his most christian majesty. On the report of a danger, which the resistance of the two first orders might doubtless have despised, had it threatened only them, consternation put an end to reasoning—there was no longer room for deliberation—it was necessary to act. The nobility and clergy rushed into the assembly, with the third estate, to save France from the most horrid of crimes; and from that moment the states-general, in *ceasing to be free, ceased to exist*.

“ The monarchy was overturned by a mad and tumultuous assembly; rebellious subjects, deputed towards the sovereign to learn his decisions, and to receive his laws, dared to dictate

* Results of the Council of December 27, 1788. Letters of Convocation addressed to the grand bailiffs.

† Speech of the King on opening the states-general, 5th May, 1789.

to him others, which in every respect were intolerable, and violently pulled down that throne which they were called to support. They commenced their sacrilegious usurpation by violating the oath they took when they received their powers. They had the audacity to stile themselves the *national constituent assembly*, as if they had possessed a right to constitute themselves what they were not established, and when they were only the deputies of the assemblies of the bailiwicks, the real representatives of the nation. Perjured in respect to the oath of fidelity, which they swore to the King, as well as in respect to that which they swore to their constituents; and substituting the individual will of their criminal majority to the imperative letter of their instructions, the national will, expressed in all the bailiwicks, they rendered all their subsequent operations absolutely null, by making themselves superior to their powers, by rendering themselves independent of them, and by assuming authorities to which they had no title; they treated France as a country not subject to a monarchical form of government, without monarch, and without laws, and leagued together to plunge it into all the errors of nations almost yet savage, and to form a government after the rude sketches of infant States, making their first advances towards civilization, and which at present would mark the last stage of their decline. Like all usurpers, they flattered the people, in order that they might subject them to obedience; assigned to them a sovereignty, with a view of converting it to their own purposes; spoke to them of the *rights of man*, while they were silent respecting their duty, and employing, according to the dictates of their turbulent and destructive ambition, the pointards of assassins, and the flames of revolt; and taking advantage of the prejudices and passions of the multitude, they successively called to their assistance famine and abundance to incense the populace, that they might afterwards seduce and govern them; and to add to the horror of their proceedings, they caused the virtuous monarch, who had convoked them, to be accused of those very crimes which they themselves had committed.

“ Alarmed at the dangers which surrounded him, and foreseeing the afflicting evils which were preparing for his people, *his most christian majesty* in vain endeavoured to avert them.— Concessions, rendered prudent by necessity*, and the urgency of circumstances, which were fully approved by the instructions of all the bailiwicks, and consequently by all Frenchmen, en-

* Declaration of the King, June 23, 1789.

created that thirst for reigning with which the usurping assembly was inflamed.

"All France, deceived and misled by the most infamous impostures, was the same day instantly in arms*. The people imagined that they were taking them up to oppose robbers, and those robbers turned them against the King. From that moment the sovereign authority was annihilated; and the incontestible rights of the two first orders† were sacrificed to nourish the destructive ardour of the conspirators.

"The orders were proscribed‡, the King himself, and his brothers, deprived of that private patrimony, which their ancestors had brought to the crown on their accession to the throne. The parliaments, the sovereign courts, the states of the provinces, and all the political bodies, almost as ancient as the monarchy, which in turns supported and moderated its power, which were securities to the people for the justice of the monarch, and securities to the monarch for the fidelity of his subjects, were buried under the ruins of the throne. Religion also was involved in the same general wreck. Its property was seized; its altars were overturned; its temples profaned, sold, or demolished; and its ministers persecuted, and continually placed in such a situation, that they must either violate the dictates of their consciences, or submit to death, commit perjury, or suffer punishment, often resigned themselves as victims, in order that they might avoid the commission of a crime.

"Thus attacking Heaven itself, an impious sect vilified all religions, under a pretence of toleration, and permitted all modes of worship in suffering them all to be oppressed, and offering equal violations to them all. In their room, they substituted political irreligion, without comfort for the unfortunate, without morality for the vicious, and without any check for crimes. Nay, crimes themselves were every where tolerated, encouraged, rewarded. Insurrection was consecrated§ as the most sacred duties. Solemn and public festivals were decreed in honour of the basest and greatest criminals||. Every species of villainy was permitted under the name of patriotism. France was inundated with blood—flames covered it with ruins—and strangers beheld with horror and consternation that

* Declaration of the King, July 26, 1789.

† Of the 4th August, and 22d November 1789.

‡ Declaration of the King, November 5, 1789.

§ The principle proposed by M. La Fayette, and adopted by the National Assembly.

|| To the soldiers set at liberty from the galleys, and the assassins of Avignon, Nîmes, Arles, &c.

country, whose laws, manners, politeness, prosperity, and, above all, its fidelity to its kings, were so much boasted of; and which, by a frightful revolution, was suddenly converted into a land of discord, proscription, exile, conflagration, and carnage, and where every violence was permitted with impunity. Inflamed with an insatiable ardour of exercising this pretended sovereignty of the people, each wished to govern, and to divide the bloody remnants of the supreme authority. Hence arose innumerable assemblies of electors, municipalities, cantons, districts, and departments. Hence those fatal turns from which intrigue scandalously procured the most shameful elections; that general lottery of all places, all public functions, of the episcopacy itself, and other church dignities, in which violence, deception, and deism, obtained almost the whole prizes. Hence societies of conspirators and enthusiasts, stifling and suppressing, by persecution and popular punishment, the voice and opinion of honest men. Hence the galleries, domineering over the usurping assembly, and the delirium of the assembly itself, which thought it enjoyed authority, when it only servily obeyed the impulse of fanatics and madmen without doors, and was subjected to the fickle passions of the people.

“ In this general and systematic anarchy, created by the most execrable and profound art, thousands of victims were sacrificed in all quarters, and provinces and whole towns were given up without mercy to the most shocking barbarities.— Every one who was suspected, was consigned to destruction.— Every one who was moderate, was considered as criminal.— All those who had property to make them objects of plunder, were denounced as enemies of the public good; and, in a word, amidst accusations commanded, solicited, and paid for; in the midst of committees of research, clubs, assemblies of all kinds, and national prisons, into which tyranny arbitrarily crowded faithful subjects, whom judges, even chosen by the factious, could not condemn, and dared not acquit; amidst the agitation of all passions, excited at the same time, virtue alone was a crime, established right was usurpation, and every one was a sovereign, except the sovereign himself.

“ The organ of the factious, the mayor of Paris, had the impudence insolently to tell his King and master, that the people had conquered him. The people, indeed, detained their monarch a captive in their kingdom, and his days, perhaps, would not have been prolonged, but by the forced and salutary escape of one of his brothers, and Princes of the blood.

“ The monarch and monarchy, however, still, in appearance, subsisted, odious and intolerable decrees having taken place to the

the simple observations of his most Christian Majesty. The revolted were irritated at this resource of justice and reason. The most criminal attempts were projected. A number of seditious persons hurried to Versailles; the castle was forced. The King, exposed, as well as the Queen and Royal Family, to every outrage, every crime, and unheard-of attacks, though only of sparing the blood of his people; and the tears which he would not have shed for himself, moistened the bodies of the generous and faithful guards who had been inhumanly butchered on the steps of the throne. Providence, which watches over the destiny of kings and nations, saved at length his Majesty, with the Queen and august Family from this horrible conspiracy: And if the criminals who were the authors of the execrable atrocities committed on the night between the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, have hitherto enjoyed an odious impunity, the Divine Justice has doubtless deferred their punishment, in order to reserve to all sovereigns, offended against in the persons of their most Christian Majesties, the inflicting of the most striking and exemplary vengeance on the guilty.

“ Escaped from the most imminent dangers, his most Christian Majesty at length thought of freeing himself from that captivity in which he was detained, and of placing his sacred person in a place of safety, by retiring to the frontiers of France. He hoped that he should then be able to exert himself with more effect in bringing back his subjects to a sense of duty, and in saving the monarchy; and by yielding to the most imperious of all laws, *self-preservation*, his most Christian Majesty meant solemnly to have protested against all those acts to which he had consented during his captivity.— But Providence, which in its wisdom often deranges, for the instruction of mankind, the best concerted plans, did not permit a resolution so just, so lawful, and so necessary to the happiness of France, to be successfully executed. An infamous town, the name of which posterity will never pronounce but with horror, the just and terrible punishment of which will serve as an example to all rebellious and sacrilegious towns that may ever have the criminal madness to wish to imitate it, and to attempt the liberty of their sovereign—this town had the audacity to arrest their King. By a signal he might have overcome this obstacle, but in that case it would have been necessary to shed blood; and his most Christian Majesty has proved, upon all occasions, that he would rather suffer death himself than expose the lives of his subjects. The return made to this generosity, goodness, and signal magnanimity, was, that he was conducted amidst a thousand dangers, and a thousand outrages continually renewed, back to his capital, to

be there imprisoned in his palace, in virtue of a decree passed by the usurping assembly; to be there suspended from his authority, as if any power upon earth had a right of passing so infamous and odious a sentence, and at length to be reduced to the alternative of forfeiting the throne, or submitting to the most pitiable concessions, that is to say, the alternative of a civil war, which would have converted France into an immense grave, or the acceptance of a constitution, dictated by the mean populace to perjured wretches without legal power, and deprived themselves of their liberty, when surrounded by poignards, conflagrations, and all those convulsions which are natural consequences of anarchy and revolt.

“ The King of France, had he enjoyed perfect freedom, would doubtless have consulted only the honour of his crown, the interest of his people, his protestation of the 20th of June, 1791, and his religion, which they endeavoured to make him renounce. Had he enjoyed freedom, by making a generous sacrifice, he would certainly have resigned life, had it been necessary, to rescue his people from that pretended constitution, with which they were loaded; but all Europe knows, that his refusing to accept it would have caused the three faithful guards who were arrested with him at Varennes to be massacred before his eyes; that a famine created on purpose already prefigured the most horrid attempts; that the murder of all the Royal Family was resolved on by the conspirators; that such of the nobility and clergy as in France remained faithful to their God and to their King, would have been instantly butchered, and that foreign powers would have had to punish thousands of criminals and regicide monsters.

“ A ray of hope, which still seemed to beam forth in the heart of his most Christian Majesty, made him doubtless entertain an idea that the factious would soon repent; and he probably flattered himself, that by this last act of condescension, he should be able to disarm their fury, and dissipate that fatal cloud of error by which they were blinded. The nullity of his acceptance, fully demonstrated by those rigorous circumstances which imperiously commanded it, sufficiently destroyed the inconveniences of it. He wished, as he himself declared *, that the constitution might be judged by experience. In a word, he was obliged either to accept it, or condemn France to commit execrable crimes, to abandon it to all the horrors of civil war, and to bury it entirely under its own ruins.

“ The King signed it, but his hand at that time was in chains. The act which he performed was invalid. The pro-

* Letter of the King to the Assembly, September 18, 1791.

testation of 20th June had previously annulled it. A prisoner can enter into no engagement, can sanction nothing, nor accept of any thing; and a monarch, who is reduced to the necessity of *writing* that he is free, is not so in *reality*. All powers, filled with indignation at this horrid spectacle, had already concerted measures for avenging the honour of the diadem.—His late Imperial Majesty, by his circular letter, written from Padua *, invited all the powers of Europe to form a confederation for this purpose. The convention of Pilnitz determined those circumstances which made their Imperial and Prussian Majesties to have recourse to arms, but the acceptance of his most Christian Majesty, though forced, and consequently null, seemed to promise a new order of things: It rendered the danger less threatening †, and the latter events seemed to afford hopes respecting the future. It appeared that the greater part of the French nation, struck with the evils which they had prepared for themselves, were returning to more moderate principles; began to acknowledge the necessity of maintaining that form of government which was alone proper for a great State; and to testify a desire of restoring to the throne that dignity and influence which belong to monarchical governments. His Imperial Majesty was not completely satisfied with these appearances, but he wished, as well as the other powers united with him, to try the effects of a little longer delay, to avoid, if possible, that disagreeable extremity, to which all powers feel themselves now obliged to have recourse. A prodigious number, however, of faithful Frenchmen, banished from their country by crimes which they had seen, and of which they were the objects, imploring in vain at home timid or corrupt judges, and laws, which, in order to oppress them, were made to speak or be silent, as might be most favourable to the revolution, ranged themselves under the banner of honour, duty, and fidelity, with Monsieur the Count d'Artois, and other princes of the blood, who, like them, had been forced to exile themselves from their country.

“ A new usurping assembly, which seemed to pride itself in surpassing the excesses of the preceding, dared to treat the royal Majesty with still greater insults ‡, added weight to his chains, encouraged more than ever the effervescence of those popular societies which domineered over him, multiplied the

* Month of July, 1791.

† Dispatch of the Prince de Kaunitz to several ministers at foreign courts, Nov. 12, 1791.

‡ Decree of Monday, February 6, 1792, which determines, that in writing to the King, the president shall follow the formula adopted by the King in writing to the assembly.

dangers around his throne, were incensed at the hospitable reception granted by foreign Princes to the French emigrants *, and insulted, with intolerable licentiousness, all the sovereigns of Europe. In violation of their own laws, and contrary to their pretended renunciation of making conquests, they invaded the Compté of Avignon, the Bishopric of Bale, pretended to set an arbitrary pecuniary valuation on the sacred property which they had, in Lorraine and Alsace, forcibly taken from several princes and States of the empire, and were offended because the police in all the neighbouring countries suppressed those inflammatory writings which they industriously circulated, and punished those missionaries of revolt whom they every where dispersed to corrupt the people, and to incite them to attack private property, to dethrone kings, and abolish all religions. Their audacity encreasing, by remaining hitherto unpunished, and rendered more violent by the moderation of neighbouring princes, this assembly, in their delirium, conceived the project of extending their usurpation, and the licentious principles of the French to the Germanic Empire, and without doubt, to the whole world. A ministry, whom they obliged his most Christian Majesty to accept, became the organ of their secret views, and of views well known to all popular societies.

“ Explanations were required from the court of Vienna, and given with that clearness, precision, and minuteness, which became the candour and dignity of his Apostolic Majesty, the King of Bohemia and Hungary: Being in every respect satisfactory, they could displease only an assembly and societies who wished to disturb the public peace, and who, by intrigues and criminal manœuvres, obliged the King to yield to the violent impulse of his ministry and the assembly, and contrary to all justice, contrary to all reason, and contrary to the evident interest of France, to declare war against his neighbour, his relation, and his good and faithful ally the King of Hungary and Bohemia. The usurping assembly flattered themselves that they could subdue Europe, as they had subdued France, by corrupting their troops, seducing their subjects, and rendering odious the paternal authority of sovereigns; by commanding crimes; by giving rewards to those who committed them; by irritating and flattering the passions of the people; and, in a word, by dissolving all the bonds of moral and political society. They flattered themselves, above all, that they should revive and propagate that error which had misled the provinces of the Austrian Netherlands; they trusted they

* Dispatches of Prince de Kaunitz to M. de Flumendorff, February 17, 1792,

should

should carry thither the flames of insurrection; find there a number of partizans; devour the rich patrimony of the churches; seize on the property of the nobility; abolish the lawful authorities of the States; and as they caused to be repeated with complaisance by the ministry of their will*, they wished to carry away the specie of the Low Countries, and to replace it with that paper money which circulates on the credit of violence; which is secured only by usurped property; and which, by its discredit at home, is sufficiently proved to be illegal. They thus trusted that they should be able to reward the crimes of their satellites, and the activity of their patriotic agents, with the spoils of their neighbours, and the riches of a peaceful and industrious people. On this criminal basis, detestable in the eyes of all nations, they founded their wish for war, as well as their plan for executing it; and they congratulated themselves for having extorted this proposal from a just monarch, whose whole life has attested his love for justice, his fidelity towards his allies, and his ardent desire for preserving the tranquillity of Europe.

"The triumph of the assembly, however, was not of long duration. Providence, in blessing the arms of a sovereign, unjustly attacked, deservedly punished those rebellious troops to their King, who detaining him prisoner at Paris, came, in his name, to make war on his allies.

"The army of the French revolvers, beat at Tournay and Mons, and defeated at Florenne and Grisnille, attempted an invasion of Flanders, an open and defenceless country; but being soon after obliged to retire, the usurping assembly† were taught that his Apostolic Majesty had none but courageous soldiers, as well as faithful subjects, and that nothing of their projects remained to that rebellious army, but the shame of having conceived them; the ignominy of having massacred, with a civic joy, the unfortunate prisoners who had done their duty; and the opprobrium of having burnt at Courtray without advantage, without object, and even without military presence, the habitations and property of three hundred families, against whom they had no cause of complaint. But other enjoyments recompensed the usurping assembly for these checks. Contrary to the express letter of their own laws, without process, and without previous accusation; without hearing him, or any person for him, the assembly had unjustly dismissed, and removed from the King's person, an irreproachable guard; and invited banditti from all the provinces to their assistance. These

* Report by M. Dumourier, on the affair of Mons.

† Letters of M. Luckner, June 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1792.

famous banditti, whose names must be handed down with infamy to the remotest ages, as if they wished to try the strength and energy of the villainy of their agents, caused the asylum of the King to be violated on the 20th of June, 1792; and the most atrocious crimes would have been then committed, had not the majesty of the monarch, his virtues and his firmness, overawed a band of regicides, whose arms were evidently paid and directed. All France, who in justice ought to be separated from the factious, turned aside with horror from that execrable day, and demanded that punishment might be inflicted on the guilty. But he who refuses to punish crimes is alone criminal; and Europe cannot be mistaken respecting the authors of these outrages.

“ Such then is the French revolution, unjust and illegal in its principle, horrid in the means by which it was effected, and disastrous in its consequences.

“ Their Imperial and Royal Majesties, who can no longer delay to fulfil their mutual engagements, to deliver mankind from so many excesses, have considered this revolution under the following points of view:

1. As it personally regards his most Christian Majesty.

2. As it respects the French nation.

3. As it respects the Princes of Germany who have possessions in France.

4. As it respects the tranquillity of Europe, and the happiness of all nations.

I. On the Revolution, as it personally regards his most Christian Majesty:

“ The whole world knows that it was essential to the French monarchy, and the unanimous wish expressed in the instructions of the bailliwick, that the King of France should be legislator; that he should have the full and entire disposal of the army; that he should cause justice to be administered to his subjects; that he should have the right of making peace and war; and, in a word, that plenitude of power which belongs to sovereignty. But it is also known, that an usurping assembly, leaving him the title of King, which they considered as a gratification, deprived him absolutely of royal authority; that, reduced to be the executor of their will*, their servile and passive organ, he had not even the right of proposing the most necessary laws†; that he had no longer any authority over the sea and land forces‡; that the right of making peace and war was

* VIIth article of the constitution, section, Internal administration.

† Decree of September 24, 1789.

‡ Decree, February 28, 1790, and April 28, 1791.

taken

taken from him * ; that he was deprived of the power of electing magistrates † ; and that not enjoying even the power of *going wherever he pleased*, which the constitution secures to all citizens, his most Christian Majesty was forced to reside near the pretended legislative body ‡, and that the chain which detained him could not be extended farther than the distance of twenty miles.

“ The supreme authority in France being never-ceasing and indivisible, the King could neither be deprived, nor voluntarily divest himself of any of the prerogatives of royalty, because he is obliged to transmit them entire with his crown to his successors.

“ He could be dethroned only by an abdication ; but the acts which he committed cannot even be considered as a partial abdication, because he could not divest himself of the crown, but to invest the presumptive heir, and because the essential condition of the validity of such an act would be a full and entire liberty which did not exist, and this it is perfectly notorious that his most Christian Majesty never enjoyed. It is well known that the violence, outrages, and dangers with which his people were threatened, and on account of which, he was continually harassed, never suffered him to be in freedom a moment. How, then, could the sovereigns of Europe acknowledge a revolution which, to the scandal of the whole world, dethrones a puissant and just monarch, continually destroys his liberty, endangers his life as well as the lives of the Queen and Royal Family ; and which, by an universal system of anarchy, would force all sovereigns, though the honour of their diadems did not render it a duty, to consider as personal outrages to each of them individually, all those which have been, or may hereafter be, offered to their most Christian Majesties. Warned by the examples of the past ; by the days, above all, of July 13th, 14th, and 17th ; by those of October 5th and 6th, 1789, strangely rewarded by the community of Paris § ; by the oath of liberty taken by a captive monarch on the 4th of February, 1790 ; by the scandalous atrocities committed even in the apartment of the King,

* Decree, March 22, 1790.

† Decree, August 16, 1790.

‡ Decree, March 24, 1792, article III.

§ The community of Paris decreed patriotic medallions to five women, who had been at the head of the execrable expedition of Versailles ; and the Abbé Mulet, a Victorin monk, president of the community, had the audacity to say, “ Receive this prize which your country bestows on your virtues, your wisdom, and your patriotism.” The names of these wretches were, Agnes le Fevre, Genevieve Dogan, Denise le Faire, Petit, and Marie-Louisa Boujon.

February 28th, 1791, on his most faithful servants; by the ferocious insults of a hired mob and licentious soldiery, offered for three hours successively on his most Christian Majesty and family, in his palace on the 18th of April, 1791 *; by the unpardonable detention of Mesdames, the King's aunts, in the town of Arnay-le-Duc, though they had condescended to provide themselves with passports which the new laws did not even then require from private individuals; by the disastrous events of the month of June 1791; by the suspension of the royal guard, and the attempts of the 20th of June, 1792; by the odious decree of accusation against the King's brothers, the forced sanctioning of which was an equal outrage to nature, justice, and supreme authority; warned, in short, by the impunity of so many crimes, their Imperial and Royal Majesties have already protested, and now protest against all acts, declarations, and letters which his most Christian Majesty may suffer to be surprised or extorted from him, until he shall be placed in full liberty with his whole family, under a guard of their Imperial and Royal Majesty's troops, in such a frontier city of his kingdom as he shall think proper to choose, and be enabled in safety to make known his supreme and definitive intentions, and to realize the vows which he has always expressed for their happiness, liberty, and prosperity.

II. Of the Revolution as it respects the French Nation.

“ The revolution considered, as it respects the French nation, instead of being its work, is evidently its scourge; the object of its grief and regret; the source of all its evils; and would be eternally its shame and disgrace, were it not proved, in a thousand different manners, that this illustrious nation itself abhors the factions by which it is torn; that it loves its King; that it wishes to preserve its religion by favouring toleration; that it sighs after the moment when it shall be delivered from the vilifying yoke, under which it groans, and that if foreign powers did not come to its assistance, abandoned to its fatal destiny, its consequence would vanish, its commerce would be annihilated, its arts forgotten, its industry rendered useless, its credit subverted, and that its whole surface would become a prey to more atrocities, more ravages, and more destruction than its superb and unfortunate colonies, than its unfortunate cities of Nîmes, Montpellier, Arles, Avignon, and others. It is far, then, from the thoughts of their Imperial and Royal Ma-

* The King and Queen being desirous of spending the day at St. Cloud, the people and national guard prevented them, and detained them in their carriage for three hours, in the court of the Thuilleries, loading them with the most horrid imprecations.

jesties to be at war with the French nation, and to separate it from its King, with which it ought to make only one, the intention of their Imperial and Royal Majesties is evidently on the contrary, to come to its assistance, and to combat in the middle of those unnatural children who tear its bosom, who outrage its King, and persecute its religion. The positive right of all countries entitles them to disarm all those madmen who attempt to destroy their own lives. The rights of nature enjoin all men to give each other mutual assistance. The rights of nations requires in a much stronger manner among all civilized people, that neighbouring States should unite to rescue a great nation from its own fury, from the fatal and disastrous consequences of that political phrenzy which undermines, dissolves, and destroys it.

“ However little one may have observed the frightful events of the catastrophes which have desolated France; however little one may have reflected on their cause and effects, or calculated the emigration of French property, of which no age affords an equal example, and may have followed, in their firm and courageous resistance, the faithful and enlightened minority of the States-general, or will be convinced that a small number of villains have excited all these troubles, and that by the assistance of obscure individuals, people banished from all countries, criminals escaped from prison or punishment, and of the error into which they have hurried weak and enthusiastic minds, they have brought about their fatal revolution, which is equally an attack upon the nation, as well as his royal Majesty.

“ Has not the rebellious majority of the deputies to the States-general, declared themselves to be superior to its powers? Have they not usurped its rights, by substituting for the national will, their own passions, and to the paternal government of a wise monarch, their own tyranny?

“ With regard to their instructions, when all the bailiwicks unanimously, or almost unanimously, requested the same thing, had this criminal majority the right to determine another; and once freed by itself from the observance of its oath, who could check the course of its abuses, and moderate the arbitrary despotism of its power?

“ To mislead the people, and fascinate their eyes by false illusions, this assembly speak of *equality* when they make all France tremble: They speak of *justice*, and they have not yet punished a single crime, nor a single atrocity; on the contrary, they applauded the most detestable crimes, and admitted into their bosom criminals abhorred by all na-

tions*. They speak of public *safety*, yet the asylum of the King is daily violated by committees of research, which desolate France; assassinations are every where committed, and the magistrates of the people are themselves massacred with impunity†; they speak of *toleration*, yet all the temples of the established religion are shut; all its ministers, immured in prisons throughout whole provinces‡, are condemned by the assembly to be entirely banished from the kingdom; the Roman Catholics cannot profess their religion, but at the risque of their lives, and wretches have been excited to persecute and punish their worship, even in nunneries§, consecrated by religion itself to the use of the poor; they speak of *liberty*, yet the King is not free; every avenue from the kingdom is shut; more than 50,000 municipalities or administrative bodies have a right to arrest and actually cause to be arrested in an arbitrary manner, peaceful and innocent citizens. There is not a member of the usurping assembly who cannot by an order from his hand, by a mere word, cause to put in irons, as was the case at Besor||, and other parts of France, strangers flying from the melancholy spectacle of a people in a state of anarchy; and the assembly itself accuser, witness, party, judge, and executioner, crowds daily into prison, as its caprice directs, every person who displeases or opposes it.

“ No—the French nation is not stained with the crimes of which it is itself the victim. It knows that unbridled liberty is a general evil, and that liberty without happiness, is a benefit to no one. It was always free; it is worthy of being, and still will be free; but it will always be subject to the empire of laws which promoted its happiness and glory for so many ages; and by restoring its lawful sovereign, a sovereign worthy of its love and confidence, their Imperial and Royal Majesties will do an equal service to the sovereign and to his subjects. As this is the sole object of their wishes, the only motive which has induced them to take up arms, they will cause their armies to protect all the faithful subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who shall give an example of obedience; and all good French-

* Conspirators of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789; murderers of Avignon, Nismes, &c. soldiers of Chateau-Vieux.

† Mayors of Troye, St. Denis, Estampes.

‡ Mans, Angers, Dijon, la Bretagne, &c.

§ The nuns de la Charité des Hospitalières were flogged and beaten by people sent for that purpose, in presence of the national guard, because they desired to hear mass from a nonjuring priest.

|| All Europe must have learned with horror the disgusting and inhuman treatment which Miss Nash, an English lady experienced at Orchies, in Flanders, from the troops of the line, though she had a passport from Marshal Luckner.

men who, in the departments, districts, and municipalities, shall concur in immediately re-establishing the authority of the King, as well as public order, shall know no other enemies than the enemies of their King and country, and those factious men who, with arms in their hands, wish still to support the cause of revolt.

“ God forbid that their Imperial and Royal Majesties should have any intention of employing their forces to introduce despotism into France, to serve the cause of private hatred or vengeance, which the honour of Frenchmen ought to sacrifice to the public good; or to facilitate an odious bankruptcy to the prejudice of the lawful creditors of the State. There is no reason for apprehending any evils of that nature—the candour and probity of his most Christian Majesty will secure his subjects; but they have not a moment to lose in choosing between popular tyranny, and laws which will gratify the general wishes; between obedience and revolt; between the forgetfulness of errors, and the punishment of unpardonable resistance. They have it in their own power to regulate their destiny—the destiny of France is in their hands—they alone can decide whether it shall still be a flourishing monarchy, or an immense desert.

“ In short, their Imperial and Royal Families cannot better recal the French to their duty, to the laws of humanity, and to those of honour, which were formerly so dear to them, and to their ancient love for their King, than by bringing to their remembrance the last words of the protestation of his most Christian Majesty, made on the 20th of June, 1791.

“ Frenchmen! and you Parisians above all, beware of giving credit to the suggestions and calumnies of your false friends; return to your King; he will always be your father, your best friend. What pleasure it will give him to forget all the personal injuries he has suffered, and to see himself in the midst of you—when religion shall be respected, and government established on a stable basis—when the property and persons of individuals shall be no longer molested—when the laws shall not be infringed with impunity, and, in short, when liberty shall be placed on a solid and lasting foundation.”

III. *Of the Revolution as it respects foreign Princes, who have Possessions in France.*

“ Considered under the third point of view, the French revolution, so fatal to France, becomes still more so by the violence and intolerable injustice offered to foreign princes, who have possessions within the territories of the kingdom, and by

the rigorous means which must necessarily be employed to do them justice.

“ The Comtat of Avignon belonged to the Holy See. The sovereignty of the Pope over this domain was founded on an incontrovertible title of acquisition, on possession, which among all nations is equal to a title. The usurping assembly united it to their territories by the sanguinary right of utility and necessity; and compounding afterwards with themselves, and with justice, they offered an indemnity to the Holy See. But if the sovereignty of the Pope was legal, they had no right to deprive him of it; and if they had a right to deprive him of it, why did they offer him an indemnification.

“ The Prince Bishop of Balle, a State of the empire, possesses in its sovereignty desiles, which tempted the ambition of the National Assembly. It caused them to be forcibly seized, and removed a detachment of troops, which the Emperor had sent thither, on the requisition of the French Bishop, for the safety of the country, agreeably to the Germanic constitution. The treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, Breda, Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, Baden, and Vienna, gave to France the provinces of the three bishoprics, and of Alsace and Franche-Comté, by expressly reversing the rights and property of the Princes and States of the empire in these provinces; and by stipulating that no innovation could be made in them, either with regard to ecclesiastical or political matters.

“ It is evident that these treaties cannot be infringed at the will of the usurping assembly, and that by calling for the execution of those clauses which serves their views, they have no right to reject those which displease them. It is perfectly clear that they ought to renounce provinces which have been ceded to the crown of France, or punctually execute the condition of the cessions made to it.

“ But their decrees respecting the dismemberment of dioceses, and of the right of metropolitans; the abolition of feudality, the suppression of several privileges, or the annihilation of territorial jurisdiction, without indemnification, and the sale of the possessions of the clergy, are a direct infringement of the treaty of Westphalia, as well as of subsequent treaties. These decrees have violated political and ecclesiastical rights secured in perpetuity by the treaties of cession. These cessions consequently, which are synallagmatic acts, which must be executed in all their parts, or rejected *in toto*, being infringed by the usurping assembly, would be at present annulled, were not the proceedings of the assembly radically null themselves, and if it were not necessary that their decrees should disappear, before

fore the grand interest which France has in being just, in not violating the sacred rights of the empire, and in not wounding the dignity of any of its members.

“ But their Imperial and Royal Majesties are fully persuaded, that the first use which his most Christian Majesty will make of this authority when he has recovered it, will be to restore to the injured Princes all their rights and privileges, to indemnify them for what they may have suffered in respect to degradation, or being deprived of their privileges; and to cement more and more by this act of justice, the harmony which has for a long time subsisted between the Germanic body and his most Christian Majesty. The injury offered to the German Princes, who have possessions in France, is not considered as a reason for making war on his most Christian Majesty, but for placing him upon the throne in order to obtain justice.

IV. *On the Revolution, as it concerns all Nations.*

“ But the most general point of view under which their Imperial and Royal Majesties ought to consider the French revolution, is, as it respects the interest of all nations, and the tranquillity of Europe.

“ In vain would the assembly, which usurps the name of the French nation, have renounced conquest, if it wished to subject to its pretended liberty the States of their neighbours. Of all the methods of making war on peaceful, virtuous, and fortunate people, the most fatal, doubtless, would be to preach up rebellion, to mislead their minds, to corrupt their morals, to form them to crimes by example and seduction, and to draw down upon them the wrath of Heaven, and punishment from their sovereigns, under the pretence of rendering them happy.

“ The ambition of a conqueror has its bounds, and his views when known, cease to be dangerous; but a planned system of anarchy which tends to dissolve all political society, abounds with inexpressible danger, and all sovereigns for the interest of their subjects cannot use too much expedition to check its progress, and to stifle the evil in its birth. People would pay too dearly for the fatal error of believing that their interests can be separated from those of their sovereigns. It is therefore necessary to destroy this error as soon as possible, and to chastise as soon as they appear those factious men who conspire against the happiness of all countries. Had any doubts existed in this respect, they would have been already removed by the attack and invasion of the Pays-bas; by the plan of the usurping assembly, divulged by the popular minister, of *spreading every where the flames of revolt*; a barbarous maxim, which attests views of cowardly ambition, and which is an insult to all nations,

tions, and a signal of alarm against all kings. Besides, a numerous and powerful nation cannot disappear from the political hemisphere of Europe without the greatest inconvenience. The balance of power among sovereigns, the work of their wisdom, purchased by their treasures and the blood of their subjects, which regulates the ambition of one by the interest of all; which maintains harmony amidst contending passions and jarring interests; and which almost always terminates by well-conducted negotiation, such disputes as may be exacted by bloody wars, requires for the general interest of Europe that so considerable a State as France should not be dissolved or withdrawn from its political engagements; and yet this would be the case, should the present revolution be established. The decrees * which have deprived the King of the right of making peace and war, have at once dissolved all those treaties which connected his most Christian Majesty with all the neighbouring princes. The revolution gives to the usurping assembly the right of renouncing such treaties as are contrary to its views, while it takes from his Majesty the means of supporting those which might be beneficial to him. According to these principles it has no more political ties than those which it chooses to approve, and it is consequently not bound to any of its allies, though all are obliged to be faithful to it. Thus the King without power, and the nation without an army, or what amounts to the same thing, having no army properly disciplined, and subject to authority, exhibit to their neighbours, and, above all, to their allies, nothing but the shadow of power. The tranquillity of Europe, however, depends absolutely on the execution of the treaties now subsisting between the different sovereigns; and those treaties themselves depend on the stability of the constitution of those states which contracted them. The displacing, and much more the annihilation of the counterpoise of the political balance, would tend then to disturb the peace of Europe, and to revive ancient disputes and pretensions, now settled, the discussion of which again renewed would occasion the loss of much blood, and excite the tears and regrets of humanity. It belongs to the wisdom of sovereigns to avert such dreadful misfortunes; and it is with this view that their Imperial and Royal Majesties think themselves obliged, for the general tranquillity and safety, and for the individual happiness of their respective subjects, as much as for the real interest of France itself, to have recourse to arms, in order to prevent the annihilation of the French monarchy, and to destroy there every spark of insurrection, which might continually threaten and endanger the welfare of all sovereigns, and of all nations.

* Decree of March 22d, 1792.

“ But

“ But yielding to what the honour of all crowns and the real interest of all people requires, their Majesties declare to Europe, that, in the just war which they have undertaken, they entertain no views of personal aggrandizement, which they expressly renounce ; and to France, that they mean not to interfere with its internal administration, but that they are firmly and fully resolved.

“ To re-establish in it order and public security :

“ To cause the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King, their lawful Sovereign, to be protected :

“ To punish, in a striking manner, all resistance to their arms :

“ To give up the city of Paris to the most dreadful and terrible justice, from which nothing can save it, as well as all the other cities which may render themselves its accomplices, if the least insult, or the least outrage is offered to the King, the Queen, or the Royal Family ; and if that city does not endeavour to expiate its errors, and to merit the interposition and good offices of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, to obtain pardon, by immediately restoring liberty, and paying every due honour and respect to their most Christian Majesties :

“ In short, to procure to the King perfect security in some frontier town of his kingdom, and the means of collecting there his family, and the Princes his brothers, until his most Christian Majesty can enter his capital with honour, and enjoy there the satisfaction of seeing his subjects repent ; of conferring new favours upon them ; of granting them real liberty, and consequently of finding them submissive to his supreme authority.”

[*A few days after the preceding manifesto had been issued, the French King's two brothers, and the other French Princes who had joined them, caused the following declaration to be published. It is confidently asserted, that it was written by Monsr. Calonne, who is at this time with the Princes, and who is, ostensibly at least, their principal adviser.*]

THE DECLARATION OF THE PRINCES, HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY'S BROTHERS, AND THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD UNITED WITH THEM. ADDRESSED TO FRANCE, AND TO ALL EUROPE, AND CONTAINING THEIR SENTIMENTS AND INTENTIONS.

“ Although it is evidently manifest that the confederated powers, whose troops are assembled on the frontiers of France, neither wage war against the King nor the nation, but solely
against

against the factious, who oppress both; and, notwithstanding the declaration published in the names of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, by the reigning Duke of Brunswick, sufficiently demonstrates the motives and views of this formidable coalition, the Princes, his Most Christian Majesty's brothers, the Princes of the Blood united with them, valiant nobility marching in their train, and the flower of the nation ranged under their standard, cannot make a junction with foreign armies, which a declaration of war, made in the name of France, has brought into their country, without explaining to his Majesty, and to all Europe, their motives, their sentiments, and their intentions.

"When we first took the resolution of leaving the kingdom, it was not so much from a desire for our own personal safety, as for that of the King; by frustrating the mischiefs which threatened us, and to solicit for him that assistance which his situation did not allow him to ask for himself.

"And now that we are on the point of returning into our country, it is with the satisfaction of having accomplished these two great objects; and finding ourselves on the eve of enjoying the advantages of our success.

"The emigration from our country, was to make ourselves the safeguard of his Majesty: Our return presents the prospect of his approaching emancipation, as well as that of his people.

"The former, the effect of violence, has prevented its being carried to the greatest extremity: The latter, protected by the most formidable armies, makes the guilty faction, whom Providence has, in a manner, inspired to provoke them, tremble at their approach.

"To recapitulate the almost incredible occurrences which have filled up the interval of these two periods, would be to recal the remembrance of the most horrible crimes, and the most afflicting sorrows: But at this moment, when the attention of the whole universe is fixed upon us, and all Europe is in motion for the recovery of its tranquillity; at this moment, in which those who support the throne are declared rebels by those who are overthrowing it, it becomes an indispensable duty to make known to the nations, and to hand down to posterity a detail of that chain of principal events, which at once justify what we have done; what we are doing, and what is doing for us.

"Three years have elapsed since a conspiracy of atrocious minds conceived the project of substituting, instead of the ancient structure of our monarchy, the shapeless form of an indefinable government, the incoherence of which could only, and, indeed, has produced the most barbarous anarchy.

“ It was from the assembly of the states-general that this monstrous system sprung, unnatural in its principle, encouraging revolt, overturning all authority, and breaking the bonds of social order. On convoking it, the King had said to his people, ‘ What must I do to make you happy ? ’ And, by the blackest ingratitude, this signal mark of his good will became the source of all his misfortunes.

“ In their first sitting, the tiers état, abusing the preponderance which a treacherous minister had obtained for it, attacked the other two orders : They were sacrificed ; and, very shortly after, the Assembly, governed by a licentious democracy refractory to its mandates, perjured in its oaths, and trampling under foot the conditions of its existence, erected itself into a constituent assembly, and seized possession of the whole legislative power, an usurpation which, in its principle, has destroyed, and rendered effectually null and void all that they have since done.

“ Posterity will scarcely be able to believe the abominable excesses which have been the consequence of that first departure from order : It will hardly be able to conceive that, in three months time, the horrible artifices which were made use of, could have produced such delusion as to extirpate a mild people, attached to its King, and substitute in its place nothing but hords of robbers, cannibals, and regicides !

“ Oh ! that we could, at the price of our lives, efface the memory of those shocking days, which will for ever fully the annals of our history ; in which the asylum of Kings was violated by a frantic populace, the Queen’s life threatened, his Majesty’s guards butchered before his eyes, and triumphant usurpation leading captive, after having loaded him with insults, a virtuous Monarch, who was ever the father of his people.

“ One would have thought, that the general cries of indignation, excited by the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, preceded by the scandalous scene of the 14th of July, would have made the city of Paris blush for ever, at the mad excesses into which they suffered themselves to be drawn, and preserved the French name from a fresh stain of the same nature : But the violences committed on the 18th of April, 1791, in the palace of the Tuilleries, and the insults then offered to royal Majesty, prolonged that train of horrors, the measure of which was filled up by the arrest at Varennes on the 21st of June following, and by the ignominious circumstances which attended it.

“ The anti-monarchic faction, irritated at seeing that their Monarch had attempted to escape from the disgrace and torment of his captivity ; irritated still more that he had seized the

first moment of liberty which he had enjoyed for near two years, to protest against all the acts, consents, speeches, and sanctions, which constraint had forced from him—*dared* to interrogate him; they again put fetters on him, as well as on the Queen, and deliberated whether they should not drag them both as criminals before their tribunal. They did it not; but by a refinement in villainy, not less cruel, though more advantageous to their views, they made use of, at one and the same time, the most savage menaces, and the most treacherous illusion, to compel the unfortunate Monarch himself to subscribe to the degradation of his throne, and the ruin of his people.

“No personal danger, if it had threatened him only, could have moved his soul. He has recently proved it; but they exhibited to him the poignard uplifted against what he held most dear; they told him that his refusal would lead to the massacre of his most faithful servants; and, at the same time, they held up to him the hopes of repentance on the part of his people, and the return of tranquillity: HE SIGNED.

“What has been the fruit of all this? Tranquillity has not been restored; and the momentary release of the King from captivity, (which was done with no other view than to impose on foreign nations), was soon after succeeded by renewed scenes of violence. Can there be a stronger characteristic mark of it, than enforcing him wantonly to declare against his ally, against his nephew, and against a sovereign whose protection he could not but desire? Had he been free, this King, who had made such repeated sacrifices from the fear of doing an injury to his people, would he have drawn on them this terrible scourge, greater than any other calamity which they have brought headlong on themselves?

“The greatest condescensions will never stop the impetuosity of seditious villainy, nor the combined manœuvres of an usurping faction; its audacity nourishes itself, by the terror which it inspires, and yields only to the apprehensions which it creates.

“Whatever the King has suffered, whatever he has done, said, or written, against his well-known will, has not prevented these barbarous libellers from continuing to load him with the most disgraceful opprobrium, to expose his august consort to the outrages of an hired populace, who have answered her complaints by the most ferocious invective, and have even disputed with her the privilege of claiming the pity of her people. In these several triumphs, they have exhibited the sovereign as chained to their designs. In the different progresses of his continued detention, they have made use of him as an organ to persuade Europe of his pretended liberty; but though no one has been imposed on by this cruel derision, they continue impudently

mently to persist in it, and force him to declare himself at liberty, at the very moment they are disposing of his council, and imprisoning and massacring his ministers; at the moment they are suppressing his guard, and arresting the faithful captain of it; at the moment that they are suffering his Majesty to be denounced, menaced, and publicly insulted; and that the most villainous canaille, breaking open the doors of his palace, come with pikes in their hands (as it had done on the 20th of June preceding), to signify to him, with unblushing effrontery, its will, and pollute his sacred head with the most disgraceful symbols of revolt. That such horrible iniquity should pass unpunished, makes nature shudder. But so far from punishing these guilty persons, the reigning faction multiplies them, and invites to the capital the most determined assassins from all parts of the country, as if it wished to announce, in the face of all Europe, armed against such crimes, that, at the last hour of the revolution, its atrocity surpasses even the horrible excesses which marked its first progress.

“ This affecting review of the attempts committed against the person of the King, grieves our soul too poignantly, that we should reflect on it any longer. It therefore remains with us only rapidly to expose the other attempts, which have violated all the laws of the kingdom, and destroyed public order to its very foundation.

“ The force and the dignity of the throne being annihilated, all the powers of it have been accumulated in the grasp of a factious majority, governed by incendiary clubs; and which (being supported within by hired auditors, and without by seditious gangs of people), has exercised, without shame, the most arbitrary despotism, against which it has never ceased to declaim.

“ We have seen it proscribing indistinctly abuses and privileges, confounding destruction with reform, opposing an intemperate licentiousness to the wise liberty which a beneficent Monarch had offered to his people, occupied only in destroying it, encompassing itself with ruins, undermining all kinds of property, attacking all the revenues, particularly that which was appropriated to the dignity of the throne; suppressing the inseparable distinction of monarchical government, held sacred from immemorial possession; stripping the crown of prerogatives which the whole nation, with the unanimous consent of its different parts, had commanded to be respected; and reducing the royal power even to less than shadow.

“ They destroyed the administration of justice, by trusting fortunes, privileges, and persons, to the incapacity of subaltern judges, removable at pleasure; placed out of the reach of the observation of the supreme head of the State, and dependent

dent on the caprices of a mob, masters of their choice and of their fate.

“ They invaded the property of the clergy, at the moment in which they were offering to the finances of the State, sacrifices capable of restoring them ; they changed and confounded the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; exacted from the pastors an oath inconsistent with their consciences, offered them the alternative of apostacy or deprivation.

“ The clergy of France having remained unshaken in their duties, excepting a very small number of renegadoes, who did themselves justice by separating from a body worthy of public veneration, the assembly not only dared to declare the episcopal sees vacant, interdict the apostolic functions to those who held them by divine mission, and replace them by false titularies, destitute of all canonical appointment ; but add all the horrors of persecution, deliver over the ministers of religion to the unbridled fury of a mad populace ; put fetters on them, banish them, and issued decrees against them, dictated by the most inhuman fanaticism.

“ They even aim to overthrow religion itself by ill-treating its ministers, in the cruellest manner. Enemies to all authority, know that religion is the surest pledge for the obedience of the people : That there is no religion without form of worship, and no form of worship without ministers ; no ministers without a regular institution ; and no regard for established Ministers, if their income is uncertain and precarious.

“ It is, therefore, in consequence of their system of absolute independence, that they wish to destroy religion, by destroying at once its worship, its ministers, the laws of their institution, and the respect due to their condition.

“ Their cavillers, publicly professing Atheism and immorality, labour incessantly to take away from the people, the consolation and the salutary restraint of religious ideas : Encouragements and even rewards are solemnly decreed in the favour of scandal and impiety ; the churches prophaned and shut against the catholics ; the priests pursued to the foot of the altar ; and aged pastors sacrificed without pity. Insults which put modesty to the blush, multiplied, tolerated, and authorised, even in the most sacred sanctuaries : Complaints made, for no other purpose but to provoke fresh violences ; and the administrators of justice standing by, either as tame spectators or accomplices in all those enormities.

“ Such has been the consequence of the fatal combination of the spirit of revolt and philosophical fanaticism.

“ The most execrable means have been employed for three years past to form, support, and propagate this fatal conspiracy against

against all laws human and divine. Its authors began their reign by corruption, by artifice, and popular hypocrisy: They have maintained it by fire and the sword. Their daggers and their incendiary torches, threatened whoever dared to avow themselves attached to lawful authority. These novel factious innovators have employed in the conquest and the progress of their usurpations, all the poison of calumny, the inquisition of odious enquiry, the tyrant of oppressive means, the seduction of influence over credulity, and the terror of power over weakness,

“ Such are the arms with which they have dared to declare war against all empires, to openly proclaim their seditious doctrines, and to effect it by means of emissaries, disturbers of the people, preachers of regicide, and instigators to insurrections, which they have not blushed to call *the most sacred of duties*.

“ One would think that the remedy for such diabolical phrenzy would be found in the excesses which it has promoted; in the indignation which it excites; in the contempt which it deserves.

“ But its progress has pointed out to sovereigns that it is high time to unite their forces; to check the contagion in its birth; to bring those to reason again by force, who no longer listen to its gentle voice; and strike with salutary terror those whom an unaccountable delirium renders insensible to the calamities they are suffering.

“ Who is there that would not be affected to see that once so flourishing kingdom, to which nature has been lavish in the means of making it such: That kingdom so rich in population; so fruitful in its productions, and which once abounded in money; so opulent from its resources and its commerce; from the industry of its inhabitants, and the advantages of its colonies: That kingdom provided with so many useful institutions, and whose happy abodes have been universally courted, presenting at this moment nothing but the appearance of a barbarous country, given up to rapine, stained with bloody ruins, and deserted by its principal inhabitants; an unorganized empire, torn with intestine distraction, stripped of all its riches, threatened with every species of scarcity, enervated from three years internal disorders, and on the brink of dissolution through anarchy: A nation without manners, police, or government: As little to be known again by its moral character, as by its political situation—having neither circulation of money, public revenue, credit, commerce, army, or justice, or any energy in the public strength.—Mad wickedness has swept them all away.

“ How is it possible that the sad impression of so many ills should not have altered opinions, even those of the people themselves;

selves; is there a person who can still shut his eyes against the disastrous effects of the revolution; or one who does not feel, and, in some measure, suffer more or less from it?

"The husbandman whom they had intoxicated with the deceitful hope of paying no more taxes, beholds himself overwhelmed with contributions, and pays double what he did before.

"The artificer groans under the languor of labour, and the dearth of provisions.

"The tradesman is ruined by the removal of his best customers. The merchant by the devastation of our best colonies! and both by the evil of paper currency and a general want of credit.

"The proprietor of property sacrificed to a multitude destitute of property, and stripped with impunity by authorised rapine, is continually exposed to the fury of that mob of plunderers whom the factious have made their tools, their allies, and their protectors.

"The stockholder, although less to be pitied than others, shares in like manner the public misfortunes. He trembles for his stock, and that bankruptcy which the authors of our troubles have so perfidiously and slanderously imputed the intention of to the King and the government: That bankruptcy which in a kingdom like France, can never be a matter of necessity, and which an enlightened administration will always consider as a false resource. He perceives it operating since the revolution, by the suspension of legal exactions; by the breach of a multitude of public engagements; by the delays and formalities to which the acquittal of rents is subject; by the great depreciation of assignats; finally, from the impossibility of fulfilling engagements so long as France shall be without a government, and taxes demanded of armed contributors in the name of a despicable administration.

"Thus has a general calamity extended for three years past over all ranks of people. Thus the very sources of power and prosperity have disappeared; and thus have both its military force and its political consequence fallen.

"Thus has vanished the eighty millions which St. Domingo produced; the resources which the ports of France derived from this commerce; the sale that this grand establishment yielded to her commodities and to her manufactures; the nursery it was for seamen, in a word, the fortunes of 20,000 families, and the employment of several millions of men, are lost.

"To purchase liberty at the price of so many losses, so many misfortunes, both public and private, is doubtless paying very dear

dear for it: *But what liberty is it?* Can any exist without a protecting authority? And was there ever a time that this people, whose liberty, and even sovereignty are so cried up, were less free and less masters of their actions than now?

“Were individuals ever less certain of preserving their property, their lives, and their honour? Was there ever seen, even in Nero’s days, such devastation, such inquisitorial examinations, so many oppressive shackles, so many violations of the most sacred sanctuaries, so many massacres of citizens? Are the 30,000 assassins who have signalized the reign of democratic tyranny, proofs of the reign of liberty?”

“Oh! too credulous Frenchmen! Oh! too unhappy country! While we are desirous of abolishing the cause of the evils which overwhelm you; when we are marching against the base faction which has given rise to them; when we unite our armies with the forces of powers whose assistance we have implored against your tyrannical oppressors, can you look upon us as your enemies?”

“No, no, you behold in us fellow countrymen, who wish to become your deliverers.

“The two sovereigns with whose assistance we are advancing towards you, have declared through their hero, the commander in chief of their armies—‘That they have no other object in view but the welfare of France, without meaning to enrich themselves at her expence by conquest: They do not mean to interfere in the internal government of the kingdom; but that they wish solely to liberate the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family from their captivity, and preserve to his most Christian Majesty that security necessary to enable him to do, without danger and without obstacle, what he may think fit for securing the happiness of his subjects according to his promises.’

“These generous, these magnanimous declarations, in which the kings of the House of Bourbon, our august cousins; our much honoured father-in-law, the Nestor of sovereigns; the heroine of the north, our sublime protectress! and the young heir of the unfortunate Gustavus, whose bloody tomb we all bathe with our tears, equally participate, ensure to these illustrious confederates the immortal palm due to the defenders of a cause, which is at the same time the cause of kings, of good order and humanity; and at the same time shew you, O Frenchmen! that the forces which we join, are for you rather than ourselves; that they are only formidable to guilt, that they will attack nothing but obstinate rebellion, and that by coming over to us, rather than resist their superiority, you will only return
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to your reason and to your duty, your dearest interests inviting you to it.

“ It is in full assurance of this, that we think ourselves justified in joining our standard to those of foreign powers. By publishing their intentions they have shewn the propriety of the step we are taking, and our wishes for their success are mixed with those which we are constantly entertaining for the welfare of our country.

“ The factious, your real enemies as well as ours, have told you that we were animated with violent and implacable resentments; that we breathed nothing but vengeance, carnage, and proscription; and that there was no mercy to be expected from a nobility too justly offended not to be deaf to the calls of it.

“ Those who tell you this, Frenchmen, are the men who for three years past have been in the habit of deceiving you, who have made it their principal study, who have established shops for lies and false news, which the orators of the tribunes promulgate, the clubs believe, and the revolution libellists spread far and wide.

“ Interested in alienating you from those with whose pure and unalterable attachment of the King, and the fundamental principles of monarchy, they are acquainted; they strive to raise your hatred against your emigrated countrymen; the *abuse* not being able to *seduce* us: And to destroy the fondness you have for the heirs of a name, dear to you for many ages back, they endeavour to terrify you with the intentions, with which (they say) we are coming into the kingdom.

“ But be no longer the dupes of their guilty arts: We solemnly declare to you, and all Europe is witness to what we declare, as well in our names as in those of all the French who are marching with us, and who are of our way of thinking, that united to deliver the King and the people from the despotism of usurpers, we do not separate ourselves from those who have the same intention: That no spirit of particular vengeance guides our steps: That we are very far from confounding the nation with the perverse seducers who have led it astray; and that leaving to justice the care of punishing the guilty, we come to hold out our hands to all those who, renouncing their errors, shall immediately return to their duty.

“ The emigrated French have not taken arms to recover by the sword, the rights which violence has wrested from them; it will belong to the King, when liberated, to restore them; they will willingly lay at the foot of his unhackled throne the care of their own interests, and we, the first citizens of the State, will give to all an example of submission to justice, and his Majesty's will.

" But being born hereditary defenders of the throne of our ancestors, faithful to the religion of our forefathers, attached to the fundamental maxims of monarchy, we will rather shed the last drop of our blood than abandon any of these high interests. Our sentiments already expressed in our letter of the 10th of last December, and recapitulated in a few words in our publication of the 30th of October, are *unchangeable*. The protestations we made then, we now repeat again; inspired by honour, engraven on our hearts from duty, nothing shall ever be able to move us.

" We will not go a point beyond that; and the support of the courts whose formidable armies surround France on every side, adds nothing to our first wishes and intentions.

" Adhering fully to the spirit of moderation, with which their Imperial and Prussian Majesties have just published a solemn declaration of, which does honour to, and will immortalize the use they make of their power:

" We declare moreover again, under their auspices, ' That our only object is to re-demand from the usurpers—the monarch, and the monarchy—the freedom of the august head of the State, and that of his people—public order, and the protective power of individual right—our ancient laws—our manners, our religion, national honour, justice, peace, and security.'

" Is there a rational Frenchman who does not agree with us in these views? Is there one who does not join with us in demanding an end of the frightful chaos, into which the factious have plunged all the branches of administration; the establishment of the finances devoured by the vilest depredations; the re-constitution of the public revenue destroyed through unskilful administration of it; a permanent and regular order of things which may close the pit that has swallowed up *three thousand millions of stock*; the security of State creditors, and the restoration of credit, which may, and ought to operate by a strict reform in the expenditure, and by the suppression (which the King has always had in view) of abuses, which were long ago introduced into the constitution. Abuses, which it is not easy to wipe away, but which those who have overturned every thing, even so as to change the ideas and sentiments of men, have affected to confound with the government itself.

" In thus expressing our wishes, which are no otherwise guided than by that common interest which the whole nation, by its representatives, pronounced to be *one*, we have reason to hope that all those who are not seditiously inclined—all that are not inimical to royalty, inimical to legitimate authority and public tranquillity, will not hesitate a moment to join

us; and that a very great majority of the inhabitants of the kingdom, hitherto restrained by the terror of popular tyranny, or uneasiness about what will become of them at last, having now the prospect of being protected against both, will soon flock to the royal standard which we are following.

“ Full of this confidence, and convinced that in France there can be but two parties, the King’s, of which we are the head during his captivity; and that of the *factions*, which comprehends all the different innovators, some of whom have undertaken to overthrow the throne, and others to degrade it; we exhort all those who have not partaken of the crimes of the factions, all those who have been merely led astray; do not wish to be the accomplices of furious usurpers in destroying or perverting the French government; all those who abhor that atrocious doctrine which tends to disturb the peace of all nations; we beseech them to be of one and the same mind with us, not to dispute on the mode of regulating the State, when the question is to fight together against those who wish to destroy it; and to acknowledge that if it is necessary to correct the abuses which time introduces into the best institutions, all innovations in the primordial principles of a government, which antiquity renders respectable, is always dangerous, and almost always fatal. We have no doubt but the bishops, especially those in the frontier provinces, will redouble their zeal at this moment to strengthen the courage of the pastors whom the flight of the intruders will soon put into possession of the exercises of their duties, and to excite their diocesans to avert, by a speedy submission, the storm that is ready to burst upon their heads.

“ We give to the King’s troops the most pressing invitations, and even *orders* (which the state of captivity in which his Majesty is, authorises us to give in his name), that conformably to the summons contained in the 3d article of the Declaration of his Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick, and without looking upon themselves as bound by an illusory oath which they could not willingly take to the prejudice of their supreme chief, they will lose no time in returning to their ancient fidelity to their lawful sovereign; that after the example of the greater part of their officers, they will join the troops, which we, his Majesty’s brothers, *command for him*; that they will give us free passage to march to his assistance, and that they give him, in conjunction with us, proofs of an inviolable attachment to his service.

“ We expressly require, in the King’s name, as being at this moment the necessary medium through which his will is to be made known, all commanders of towns, citadels, and fortresses throughout the kingdom, to open their gates and deliver

Tier up the keys on the first summons, which shall be given by us, or by the general officers, who may be the hearer of our orders to that effect: As also to give free admission to the troops which shall present themselves to assist us in taking possession in the name of the King, our brother. If contrary to our expectation, any of these commanders shall refuse it, they shall be personally answerable for the consequences; tried for disobedience to the King, and treated as rebels.

“ The inhabitants of places and forts, as well as the troops in garrisons, who shall oppose and disobey the chiefs and commanders who would bring them back to their duty, shall be punished as traitors, and have neither favour nor mercy to expect.

“ The voice of Henry the Fourth’s descendants will not be disowned by the French army; we are already informed in part of its good will, and we know that blushing to follow the chiefs of a conspiracy whom it despises, it only waits a favourable moment to make its just indignation burst upon those corruptors who dishonour it.

“ That *moment is at hand*, and we have good ground to believe, that as soon as the troops of the line advance towards them, the corps of French cavaliers, led by the Bourbons, and preceded by that ancient banner which was always the signal of honour to our army; the voice of the public opinion for fourteen centuries past, will make itself be heard in their ranks, as well as in our own; that they will flock to their ancient colours; and at the sight of the untarnished and immortal purity of the *Fleurs-de-Lys*, they will quit with horror the disgraceful colours adopted by fanaticism.

“ Oh! may we thus terminate, without spilling the blood of our fellow citizens, a war which is only directed against criminal and obstinate resistance! May the seditious inhabitants of the capital be restrained by the fear of the most just and the most terrible vengeance, with which their Imperial and Prussian Majesties have declared they will overwhelm that guilty city, in case ‘ the least violence or insult shall be offered to the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, or in case their security, their preservation and their liberty is not immediately provided for.’

“ God forbid that impious villainy should dare to brave these threats! If such atrocity—our very blood boils and shudders at the thought! Let us hope, rather hope, that chimeras are near a conclusion; that the bandage will drop from all eyes, and that reason will resume its reign. It is our most earnest wish, and we pray to the God of Justice and Peace, that the submission of the factious may spare us the necessity of fighting

ing them : But if that necessity should be inevitable, if we must fight the enemies of the altar and the throne, *we will invoke with confidence the assistance of the God of Armies !*

" Given at our head quarters, near Treves, the 8th day of August, 1792.

(Signed)

" LOUIS-STANISLAUS XAVIER (MONSIEUR), a son of France, and brother to the King.

" CHARLES PHILLIP (Count d'ARTOIS), a son of France, and brother to the King.

" LOUIS ANTHONY (d'ARTOIS), Duke d'Angoulême, a grandson of France.

" CHARLES FERDINAND (d'ARTOIS), Duke de Berry, a grandson of France.

" LOUIS JOSEPH DE BOURBON, Prince of Condé.

" LOUIS HENRY JOSEPH DE BOURBON, Duke of Bourbon.

" LOUIS JOSEPH DE BOURBON, Duke of Engbien."

A STATEMENT of the POLITICAL SITUATION of the DIFFERENT POWERS of EUROPE, relative to FRANCE ; *transmitted by M. Chambonas, (then) minister of foreign affairs, to the diplomatic committee ; on the part of whom it was read by M. Koch, a member of the said committee, to the National Assembly of France, on the 10th of July, 1792.*

It must have been foreseen from the very beginning of the French revolution, that an event of this magnitude would create us numerous and powerful enemies. At home, those whose concerns, passions, and prejudices the new form of government impeded or controuled. Abroad, Princes who dreaded its effects upon their arbitrary authority, or who being willing to avail themselves of our disturbances and divisions, have prolonged them with views of increasing them. At that time, almost all chances were in our favour.

Russia being engaged in a double war with Sweden and Turkey.

Austria exhausted by three brilliant, but ruinous campaigns, being engaged in the east, with conquering desarts, which she was afterwards to return ; engaged in the west with reconquering rich revolted provinces ; and threatened more or less with popular commotions and insurrections, in the different parts of her vast demesnes.

Prussia, who had clandestinely prepared for her rival all these embarrassments, only waiting opportunity of openly declaring, in order to give her the death blow.

England and Spain on the eve of waging an obstinate war for paltry factories, for insignificant mercantile concerns.

In short, all Europe was agitated either by the general discontent of the nations, in whom the example set by the French had kindled the sense of feeling of their rights and strength.

Such was the political situation of the States, whose malevolent dispositions we have at present to apprehend.

The situations are no longer the same; the Princess's passions have taken another turn; a new road ought to be struck into, and its direction calculated by the now existing relations.—What are these relations? This is what I propose laying before the eyes of the National Assembly.

One ought not to disguise, that at almost all the courts of Europe, there is existing a spirit of opposition to those principles of liberty, which are the basis of the French constitution. The result of which is, that manifest resentment which has been shewn in the most distinct manner.

The House of Austria, faithful to the plan of an hereditary ambition, has found in our disturbances a means of aggrandizing itself; and having succeeded in putting the *change* upon the House of Brandenburg, with respect to her *real* interest, she purposes to herself, to gather exclusively, the fruit of our divisions; notwithstanding, though the rupture of the treaty of 1756 ought still more, than our principles, to alienate the cabinet of Vienna; it seems that this war is not favourably looked upon by the court itself, nor by the King of Hungary and Bohemia; and if long hostilities do not exasperate their minds, it will be possible to recommence negotiations; provided they rest on other basis than those of the treaty of Versailles, and that they do not compromise the engagements we have taken with our allies.

The court of Berlin is also urged against France, and if that court at present cannot yet be called a principal, it is at least an auxiliary of the King of Hungary and Bohemia. It is, however, a truth, that this animosity is not adopted by the nation, by statesmen, and the old generals, formed in the school of the great Frederic.

This monstrous alliance, between Prussia and Austria, which menaces the independence of the Germanic affection, it is possible cannot be of long duration; although it was grounded on treaties of sharing the French provinces among themselves; and that Prussia may still find again in France, her natural ally.

The dispositions of the Electors of Treves and Mayence (Mentz) are no less determinate. In spite of all protestations, merely to be ascribed to fear, of attracting the French armies into their States, and to the lively remonstrances of the inhabitants,

tants, they have ever been unfaithful to their promises. It is chiefly in their Electorates that our emigrants have found an asylum and protection, and in which the French Princes have publicly exercised their men. For these reasons, they may be looked upon as avowed enemies, and, by treating them as such, no law will be hurt.

It is useless to enter here into a detail of the divers States of the German Association; it will be sufficient to give a general description of the present diet. The dispositions of their minds are in no manner favourable to us; the ministers who bear an ill will to us, observe the strictest watchfulness over those who seem to incline in our favour. The latter, who are inferior in number, know this, and do not chuse to encrease the suspicions of their adversaries. We have a great majority against us, either in the electoral college, or in that of the princes; but the college of Villerqui might perhaps be favourable to us, and yield us matters of business. The neutrality of the empire is therefore a very uncertain thing; for among the Princes, who at present do not seem to adhere to this system, there are several, who will betray quite different sentiments when they see their States guaranteed by the arms of Prussia and Austria. Their contingencies, however, will not be formidable; either from the delays which are inseparable from the assembling them, or from the dispositions of the troops. But they will have the option of sending either troops or money; the last will be to them the most expedient.

Immediately after the imperial coronation, the Emperor will, most probably, make a very urgent declaration, for the purpose of entangling the empire in the war. It is this declaration alone which can throw a light upon the dispositions of the several courts of Germany, and settle our opinions upon this important object. But, in general, these dispositions are not very alarming to us.

The Empress of Russia has never employed, with respect to us, this perfidious dissimulation, this duplicity of sentiment, that have blinded us too much on the true dispositions of the courts of Vienna and Berlin. She has declared herself long ago, and openly, an enemy to our revolution, and a protectrix of the emigrants. She was one of the principal agents of the concert of the powers; she broke off betimes all communications with the French government; she was the first who acceded to the famous convention at Pilnitz*. Her alliance

* COPY OF THE CONVENTION BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

His Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, having heard

with the late King of Sweden seemed to have no other aim but an expedition in common against France; in short, the succour in money she has given to our emigrants, the honour she has done to our Princes of sending ministers to their court at Coblentz; her rigour against the French established in her empire when they were suspected of patriotism; in a word, every thing till then seemed to intimate that Catharine II. was our implacable enemy. Her conduct was directed in an uniform manner, in this sense, till the moment she saw Prussia entirely bound by Austria, and ready for engaging in a serious war on the banks of the Rhine. By that time, the policy of the Russian cabinet began to unfold itself, and the world began to perceive that France, whose spoils the Empress could not hope to share in, did not concern her so much as Poland. The entry of the Russians on the territory of that republic, the direction of all the land forces towards this only point, the slowness of the armaments in the ports, and the obvious disfavour in which the Prince of Nassau, Mons. Esterhazy, and other chiefs of the French emigrants seem to have fallen into at court, are circumstances which induce us to think, that this Princess merely endeavoured to mislead the court of Berlin with respect to the real projects of its ambition. It is a fact, according to the latest news from Petersburg, that the emigrants have no more assistance to expect from that quarter, and that their emissaries, who demanded squadrons and troops, have obtained nothing more than a frigate, equipped for the sole purpose of relieving the court of Russia from their importunities.

The death of Gustavus the Third has changed the dispositions of the court of Sweden. The regent had never any share in the projects of his brother; and it was not difficult to foresee, that he would not pursue inconsiderate engagements.

heard the wishes and representations of Monsieur (the French King's brother) and the Count d'Artois, do jointly declare, that they look upon the actual situation of his Majesty the King of France as an object of common concern to all the sovereigns of Europe. They hope that this concern will, doubtless, be acknowledged by all the powers from whom assistance is required; and that, in consequence, they will not refuse employing, in conjunction with their said Majesties, the most efficacious means, relative to their forces, in order to enable the King of France to consolidate, in the most perfect liberty, the basis of a monarchical government, suitable both to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French nation—then, and in this case, their said Majesties, the Emperor and the King of Prussia, are determined to act speedily, with mutual concord, and with the necessary forces, to obtain the proposed end in common.

Mean while, they will give to their troops necessary orders that they may be ready for putting themselves in a state of activity.

PILNITZ, the 27th of August, 1791.

However,

However, he could not offend the sentiments of the Empress of Russia; and, in order to excuse himself from fulfilling the conditions of a recent treaty, he was obliged to conduct himself with circumspection. It is, doubtless, from this motive, that the court of Sweden has not yet recommenced her official correspondence with us; nor acknowledged the new form of government which France has adopted. But the deference shewn to our *chargé d'affaires* at Stockholm, the admission of the national flag into the ports of Sweden, the disfavour of the two ministers who were the most against us, the quietness that is seen in the land and sea forces, all promise the neutrality of this power.

Denmark has, for a long time, known no other policy than being a spectator of the quarrels which agitate the other parts of Europe. This moderation secures her peace and encrease of wealth. The Danish ministry are too prudent to abandon this system. We may then depend upon the most exact neutrality of this power; since justice, interest, and a happy experience, all equally prescribe it to her.

The court of Turin has displayed a good while nothing but hostile intentions. The constant reception of our emigrants, the personal interest the French Princes inspire her with, and particularly the disposition in refusing to receive our minister, the preparations made, which are above her strength; in short, a camp of ten thousand Austrians, that is to be formed when harvest is over, at the gate of Tortona; and her accession to the alliance of Vienna and Berlin; every thing prognosticates that it is an urgent case to be upon our guard against that power.

Since the reign of Ferdinand the Fourth we cannot say much in praise of Naples. The revolution has rendered her dispositions still more unfavourable. It is she who first molested the French merchants and travellers; it is she who has most constantly favoured the emigrations. Nay, in this present juncture, she displays all her strength by measures which cannot be equivocal.

The fate of the clergy, the violent resolution the Pope has taken, the loss of his influence and of the tributes payed to the datary's office; the incorporation of Avignon with the French empire, have made us an irreconcilable enemy in the court of Rome. The Pope has made the greatest protestations against the incorporation of Avignon; he has applied to all the courts, even to that of Russia, in order to support them. He has refused to receive a French agent, under any diplomatic denomination whatever. Wherefore, we can consider ourselves as being in a declared state of rupture with the Holy See; who, probably, only waits until the open attack takes place, in order

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to join to the arms of the league, the thunder-bolts which his Holiness keeps in readiness in the Vatican.

The Republic of Venice has declared to the courts of Vienna and Turin, that she did persist in her ancient principles of neutrality; but nevertheless, though she has just concluded a peace with the Regency of Turin, she has not yet given orders to disarm her fleet. She announces, that she shall be obliged to prevent French armed ships from entering the Adriatic Gulph; thus her neutrality becomes illusory, since this disposition secures to Austria the tranquillity of her harbours of Fumè and Trieste, situated in the gulph.

Genoa, Florence, and Malta, have also declared their neutrality.

Spain seemed to go from us, under the ministry of Count Florida Blanca; it was he who occasioned the famous edict against foreigners; and the ill treatment of all kinds which the French experienced in Spain. But ever since his retreat, and Count Arauda getting into the ministry, the persecution has slackened. The ministry of France have brought in their just claims, Count Arauda has received the greatest part of them, and it may be presumed, that his delays and evasive answers, proceed from a motive, to which he is an utter stranger. Thus far this court has held an undeterminate language, which seems rather to border upon neutrality, than a state of hostility.— There is no probability that we shall obtain the succour stipulated in the family compact, and which, in the midst of the embarrassments of a revolution, we have generously offered to Spain. However, it is not a little matter, that we have succeeded so far as to resume the string of negotiations. What we have got by it is this, that we have prevented this court from acceding to the concert of the powers.

The political relations between France and Portugal are very inconsiderable. Our ambassador was authorized to announce in the name of this court, that we most ardently wish for the tranquillity and happiness of France, and that we will observe the strictest neutrality.

The sentiments of the Swiss Cantons are divided on our account; but the result of the Diet at Travenfeld proves, that the malevolent will not get the better of those, whose inclinations are favourable to us.

France may chiefly rely on the Cantons of Bazle, Zurich, Lucerne, the Republic of Valais, and part of the *Liqueres Grises*.

The actual government of Geneva, always acting in concert with the Cantons of Berne, and the court of Turin, in spite of the protestations of neutrality, may give some uneasiness

ness under the frivolous pretence of maintaining public tranquillity, which they suppose to be in danger. They have shewn dispositions for introducing the troops of Sardinia on the territory of the Republic. The town walls are repaired, barracks are preparing; and by this time 3000 men of the troops of the King of Sardinia are posted at Carrouge and St. Julien, at the distance of half a league from Geneva. This neighbourhood is the more to be dreaded, as from this town as far as Lyons, all the country lies open. It is thus of great importance, to prevent the Genevese from opening their city gates to these troops, and the strongest remonstrances have been made on this head.

Of all the powers in Europe, it is England whose friendship best suits the *regenerated*, and *free French*. The alliance of these two nations, if it should take place, would for ever secure their political preponderancy; and it would be in vain for the *other* powers of Europe to league themselves for destroying our liberty.

Since the revolution, the former antipathy of the two nations, is no longer the same; and the two nations by esteeming one another more, seem more disposed towards a reconciliation. Yet, by the note that contains the assurance of neutrality, it appears that the British ministry have changed their system. Our behaviour with respect to them, offers, in all our relations, the greatest reserve in every thing; a scrupulous attention not to give them the least reason of umbrage; a speedy justice in all private affairs; the faithful observation of the treaty of commerce; in short, the frank manifestation of our wishes for an alliance that would establish the happiness of both nations.

Until this day, neutrality seems to have been the system adopted by the States-general of the United Provinces; but the re-inforcement of Austrian troops, the Prussians being arrived in the Low Countries, will give to the mutual guarantee a consistence, which it cannot have in this moment. It is then possible, that this neutrality will only be an illusory one; and that Holland will grant our enemies a real, though secret, protection; either by suffering to go over into the service of Austria, the German regiments which are in the service of the States-general, or by furnishing arms and ammunition, or by impeding the exportation of the same articles destined for France; of which we have already an instance. The question is only, to employ with respect to this power, the measures of justice and energy, that will equally suit loyalty and national dignity.

There are powers, whose sincere friendship for the French nation, is proof against all the intrigues of cabinets; the United States

States of America are of this number. The identity of their situation, the conformity of principles, the same love of liberty, will always make of the American and French people two friendly and brotherly nations. Unhappily the distance between the two countries; the limits of the American population, will not permit us to expect from the United States, nor even to ask them any kind of military assistance; but they do us no less precious services; and by facilitating the necessary supplies of our settlements in the West Indies, in these times of distress and trouble, they pay us sufficiently the debt of gratitude and fraternity.

Poland has shewn the same energy; she runs the same risk as ourselves; and she has, as it were, the same enemies to combat. These motives naturally tie her to France; and they may become a basis to a solid and lasting alliance between the two nations; but the distance seems to oppose it. For to reap, from this alliance, a reciprocal and real advantage, there ought, at least, to be an intermediary between Poland and us; who had almost the same political concerns; and by whose assistance the communications would become easier; and the blows given to the common enemy more rapid and severe.

The Turks, who have been for two centuries the faithful allies of Poland and France, will be these intermediators. It is true, that for want of policy, their former friendship for us, and their hatred against the two Imperial courts, have been suffered to grow cool. Yet it will be an easy matter to rouse both again; and to remind Turkey of her true interest; for the Porte will never forget the sacrifices she was obliged to make before, and during the last war.

This is the situation of Europe, gentlemen. This short description exhibits many enemies; few sure allies, and still less friends. But the happy effects of the moving scene displayed by the National Assembly, to the entire satisfaction of good citizens; the astonishment of enemies abroad, and eternal shame of the agitators; the constancy of a nation, that fights for her liberty; the concord of all sentiments; the concert of all wills; and the harmony of the powers, ought to encourage France against the impious league that menaces her, and inspire her with the courage that arises from a perfect knowledge of her forces; and which keeps, equally at a distance, a cowardly despair, and an imprudent security.

[To the preceding interesting MEMOIR of the politics and views of the States of Europe, we must add the following papers, and statement of facts.]

MEMORIAL TRANSMITTED TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE
COUNT DE BERNSTORFF, MINISTER OF STATE AND
OF CONFERENCE TO HIS DANISH MAJESTY, BY THE
MINISTER OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.

“ The undersigned envoy extraordinary of his Hungarian Majesty, and the chargé d'affaires of his Prussian Majesty, have the honour of communicating to the minister of his Danish Majesty the subsequent memorial, relative to the affairs of France, and to accompany it with some observations and requisitions of their courts on that subject. There are at present at stake the common cause of all sovereigns, and the common interests of all government. Hence arises the necessity of obligation for them all to interfere efficaciously, by the union of their means and forces; and their community of efforts requiring necessarily a previous concert, for the purpose of settling with those courts the end of the concert, and the means of effecting it.

“ The end unites two different objects; the one embraces the injured rights of the Princes of the Empire, as well as those of the Holy See, and the dangers with which the propagation of French principles threatens more or less, sooner or later, the other States, if they do not proceed in preventing it; The other relates to the maintenance of the essential foundations of monarchical government in France. The first of these two objects is determined in every point by their declaration itself; the second, on the contrary, does not yet admit of a positive determination.

“ All the other powers have by no means a right to require of a great and free power, such as France, that every thing should be entirely re-established in its former state, and that it should, without alteration, adopt its former mode of government. It follows, that they should and ought to acknowledge, as legal and constitutional, such a modification in its ancient government, and its internal administration, as the King, enjoying full liberty, shall accept, in conjunction with the legitimate representatives of the nation. Besides these, several important considerations seem to prescribe to the wisdom and foresight of these united courts, to display and maintain invariably the greatest moderation in that respect.

“ As to the means to be employed they ought to be sufficient,

cient, in order to render the success infallible, proportioned to the respective forces of the united powers, and regulated upon one general plan of operations.

“ This concurrence of efforts may be effectuated either by troops, or by subsidies of money, proportioned in favour of the powers who shall undertake to furnish a greater number of troops than the amount of their contingent. In both cases it will be necessary to specify the nature and quantum of those means which they shall engage to furnish, as well as the term at which these engagements shall be fulfilled. In order to proceed to the arrangement of these points, his Apostolic Majesty and his Prussian Majesty propose the city of Vienna as the centre of the distances, with a view to accelerate and abridge the labour as much as possible.

“ But when, in consequence of the concert, the assembling of the armies shall be effected from all quarters, and followed by a declaration of powers to the announcing their common intention, and the objects of which they demand the redress; and if then it be necessary to establish a formal armed congress, it follows, that this congress can not be held at Vienna, at too great distance from France, but in some other place that the united powers shall judge most convenient. Their Apostolic and Prussian Majesties are ready on their part to concur in this manner with all the promptitude and energy possible, in support of the common interests of all sovereigns and governments.

“ The measures that the two courts have taken till now being purely defensive, the active measures that they shall further pursue, will depend upon the fulfillment of the proposed concert, and consequently the effective co-operations of the other courts.

“ It is in virtue of the precise orders, and in the name of their respective courts, that the undersigned have the honour of inviting the court of Denmark to this concert, and the engagement of furnishing its minister at Vienna with instructions, and with full powers necessary for that purpose, demanding the eventual information of the means that it shall contribute to the common end, and the limited time in which it may be able to furnish them.

“ As the present notorious extremity of the affairs of France, and above all, the hostile invasion of the territory of Germany, and of the circle of Bourgogne, which it is about to endow, renders urgent the necessity of accelerating, as much as possible, the execution of the combined measures, the undersigned flatter themselves, that his Excellency M. le Comte de Bernstorff,

storff, will not delay to inform them of the intentions of his court, relatively to its accession to the proposed concert.

(Signed)

“ WEGUELIN.

“ BREUNNER.”

THE ANSWER OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE
BERNSTORFF.

“ It is with all the sentiments worthy of the confidence of the sovereigns, his friends and allies, and with an equal return of confidence, that his Danish Majesty has received and weighed the overtures of their Apostolic and Prussian Majesties. He has there perceived the most just principles, and the most respectable solicitude for the happiness and tranquillity of all Europe, evidently threatened by the French anarchy, and by the imposing appearance of these deceitful but seducing forms. The proposal of a perfect concert, to secure the general basis of social order, to set bounds to the attempts of those who despise it, and to restore the French again to that prosperity which they once enjoyed, but which has been annihilated, cannot but flatter the King my master. If he cannot concur in it, it does not proceed from a difference of opinion or views; it is from reasons founded on a different position, upon greater interests, upon duties which ought to form his law and his guide, and which do not permit him to listen to his inclinations, or consult his regrets. His Majesty will explain himself upon this head with truth, frankness, and the utmost cordiality. He knows that it is only thus that he can prove his esteem and friendship to the sovereigns to whom he is attached, and whose virtues he knows and respects.

“ It is no longer possible to be silent, or to maintain peace by a formidable concert. The French have already declared war. The general system of the King is the most perfect and impartial neutrality, but he cannot entirely reconcile himself with one of the belligerent parties in opposition to the other, by a re-union which has only taken place since the war has in reality commenced. Denmark has acknowledged, as well as the deceased Emperor and the King of Prussia, the constitution of France, since Louis XVIth has solemnly avowed it. There is not yet any direct and public proceeding. The sovereigns who have not particular reasons, are not yet called to support or avenge the cause of him who believes himself free and satisfied with the limitation of royal authority, adopted without complaint. There is a wide difference between neutral and distant powers, who have not been provoked,
and

and those that have been offended, who ought to defend themselves, who, by their engagements, their vicinity, their forces, their position in general, are under the necessity of taking a part, and besides are able to perform a principal part without inconvenience. Their first object, and what is most worthy of them, is without doubt to preserve their subjects from the dreadful infection which spreads itself as the most active and dangerous poison; his Majesty has prevented its progress by means adapted to the genius of his nation; he will not deviate from his system.

“Denmark is besides a maritime and commercial power. It has then particular measures to pursue, especially with respect to a nation with which it is connected by a treaty of commerce, and which requires the most careful management. Its prosperity does not solely depend upon peace, but likewise on the opinion that it shall not be interrupted, and that there exists nothing which can have this effect; and the King cannot permit himself to destroy this opinion.

“His Majesty was unwilling to delay his answer under a pretext of consulting with others, or waiting till he might be assured of the concert or universal concurrence of sovereigns, so difficult to be foreseen or imagined. He has wished to prove how much he was impressed by the truths expressed with so much force and dignity in the memorials which have been communicated to him. He confesses and acknowledges also his obligation to concur as a member of the empire, in all the common measures which shall be employed in its defence, and in the support of its rights. His Majesty will be always equally ready to confess and to fulfil his duty.

“*From the department of foreign affairs, at Copenhagen, the 1st of June, 1792.*

(Signed)

“BERNSTORFF.”

The above letters give an authentic proof of the attempt that was made to draw Denmark into the war. The same attempt was made upon the States-general, and with similar success. The fact was notorious, which the following article shews, having been inserted in all the foreign prints.

HAGUE, July 25.

The Dutch have been much pressed to accede to the concert of Kings against France. The proposition is, however, so evidently against every principle of private interest and public policy, by which either the States, or the people can be influenced, that it has been listened to not merely with indifference, but with indignation.

There

There was no necessity for making the same application to Sweden, for Russia conceived that she had not only a *command* over her, but a *demand* upon her by treaty. This fact is stated in the following article from Stockholm, copied also from the foreign prints:

STOCKHOLM, *July 6.*

On the 24th of June a courier arrived here from Petersburg with dispatches for Count de Stackelberg, the Russian ambassador; and we since learn, that his court insists on the stipulated quota, of. from 16 to 18,000 men, which the late King promised to furnish against France. It is true, in the secret treaty concluded at Drottningholm, between Gustavus the Third and the Empress of Russia, measures were concerted against France, the new constitution of which they refused to acknowledge, but the Duke Regent never approved of these engagements, and the King, his brother, never consulted him on the business. After the death of Gustavus, the Duke Regent acted with great circumspection in this point: He was unwilling to break through the engagements entered into by the late King directly, and his first answers to the instances of the Empress on that head were dilatory. He afterwards, by a courier which he sent to Petersburg, declared, "that the situation of Sweden would not permit her to send troops against France, agreeable to the treaty of Drottningholm." The Russian cabinet have now claimed it afresh, but the Duke of Sudermania will not deviate from the principles of neutrality which he has adopted. The treaty concluded at Drottningholm was brought about by two noblemen, favourites of his late Majesty. These noblemen were General Baron d'Armfeldt and General de Taube. After the death of Gustavus, the Duke Regent received them with great coolness; upon which, they requested permission to resign their posts, which being granted, they resigned accordingly; and immediately quitted the kingdom.

With respect to Switzerland, the great question of politics is still undecided. But the emigrant Princes of France have not been wanting in their application to the Helvetic Body, as appears by the following *letter from the French Princes to the Helvetic Body*:

"The annual Swiss Diet at Frawenfeld opened on the 2d of June, when a very boasted letter, of which the following are the most material passages, was read from the French Princes:

"Gentlemen,

"We have never doubted the attachment of the Helvetic nation to France; the proofs of their fidelity appear in their
annals,

annals, and are engraved upon the hearts of all the Bourbons. We have been also equally convinced how much it was their interest to check the course of a destructive torrent, which seems daily to increase its strength, and of which the ravages should shortly reach the bosom of their States.

“ But we, at the time, believed, that their prudence would prevent them from taking a decided part, while the great powers had not declared themselves; and we have, therefore, withheld from openly soliciting the assistance, which could not be given, without involving the Helvetic Body.

“ At present, the state of things is different. All the powers have manifested their indignation against the factions, who would abandon all Europe to anarchy; the King of Hungary is in open war with them; the King of Prussia has declared, that he will unite his forces with those of Austria; the good intentions of the Empress of Russia have been for some time known; the King of Sardinia assembles his army; the King of Spain sends his troops to the frontier; and in the North and South every thing is preparing to replace our brother upon the throne of his ancestors.

“ The time is, therefore, arrived, in which we can solicit with confidence the brave and generous nation of the Swiss to enter into the holy league, which has for its object the tranquillity of all governments. And upon whom can the King of France rely, if he is abandoned in his misfortunes by the most ancient and most faithful of his allies, by those who so gloriously supported the rights of Henry the Fourth?

“ By increasing our army and our resources, the Helvetic Body will put us in a condition to give a speedy conclusion to a revolution, destructive to all empires, and will furnish us with the means of cooling the blood of a people, whom fanatics have enraged, and whom we would recall to their duties by explaining their true interests. They will, in short, acquire an everlasting claim to the gratitude of France, and to the inviolable attachment of the Bourbons.

(Signed) “ LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.
“ CHARLES PHILLIPE.”

Whether the following letter from the Helvetic Congress, was written in consequence of the preceding application, or of any other, does not at present authentically appear:

LETTER OF THE HELVETIC CONGRESS TO THE KING
OF THE FRENCH.

“ SIRE,

Dated June 11, 1792.

“ The necessity of preserving our precious country in these
Z z critical

critical times, with the same courage and firmness as our ancestors, who, reposing in God, founded our republic, under the protection and visible assistance of the Almighty, has engaged all of us, the Cantons and allied States, maturely to weigh, and to deliberate, by our deputies assembled at Frawenfeld for that purpose, on the most proper means of preserving the tranquillity and peace of our country, and averting the dangers arising to it from abroad.

“ In consequence of these mature deliberations, we have the honour of addressing to your royal Majesty the present letter. Following the example of our ancestors, we have taken the firm and unanimous resolution to observe with fidelity, on our side, the most entire and strict neutrality towards the great powers actually engaged in war, and to support the same by an armed force, as circumstances shall require; for which end we are already fortifying our frontiers, to put them in as secure a state as possible.

“ At the same time we presume to conceive hopes that the principalities of Neuchâtel and Vallengin, the republic of Geneva, the Val de Munster, (Montrier grand val) as well as the other States of the Bishop de Bale, who are all more or less intimately connected with some of our co-estates, will be, as usual, included in the neutrality, and respected on that account as at every former period. In consequence, we earnestly demand of your Majesty to issue orders for the troops, which are in the territory of Porentruy, to be withdrawn, in order that the confederate territories may be more safe, and may not have reason to fear an invasion on the part of the belligerent powers.

“ After this formal and solemn declaration of neutrality, we hope, from the generosity of your royal Majesty, that you will, upon our urgent demand, give orders that your troops and armies may not set foot upon the Helvetic territories, that they may not occupy any post; that they may not make any incursion, nor traverse the country. We take the liberty of asking as before, that you will soon issue the agreeable declaration, which we hope to obtain likewise from his Apostolic Majesty, the King of Hungary and Bohemia, in consequence of the demand which we have made this day. We will employ all the means in our power to act and observe with fidelity all that is required by a full, loyal, strict, and true neutrality.

“ We regard this gracious declaration, which we expect from your Majesty, as a new proof of your goodness and benevolence towards all the confederation. We beg you would continue to preserve the same dispositions, and pray that the Almighty may maintain the prosperity of your sacred person, and

and of the Royal Family, and conduct all events for the general good.

“ Your Majesty’s most attached and zealous servants, the burgomasters, magistrates, counsellors, of the Thirteen Cantons and United States of Switzerland.

“ *Given and sealed in common with the seal of the State of Zurich, the 11th of June, 1792.*”

We have already mentioned (*see page 286*) that when the King of the French was deposed, and sent to the temple, the *executive power* was placed in the hands of the six ministers.—The court of Great Britain, upon the receipt of this intelligence, came to a resolution to recall the British ambassador (Earl Gower) from Paris. The following is a copy of the letter of recall: We print it in French and English, because there are some words which seem to have an equivocal sense. The mention made of the French King’s situation, may be interpreted just as it shall be found convenient hereafter. The words *may* mean a perfect indifference to his fate; or, such a *concern in it*, as shall oblige us to exert ourselves in order to rescue him from it, or to revenge his fall.

COPIE D’UNE LETTRE E-
CRIRE A M. LE COMPTE
DE GOWER, AMBASSA-
DEUR D’ANGLETERRE,
PAR M. DUNDAS, ET RE-
MISE AU MINISTRE DES
AFFAIRES ETRANGERES.
A WHITEHALL, LE 17
AOUT, 1792.

COPY OF A LETTER WRIT-
TEN TO EARL GOWER,
ENGLISH AMBASSADOR
AT PARIS, BY MR. DUN-
DAS, AND DELIVERED TO
THE MINISTER FOR FO-
REIGN AFFAIRS, DATED
WHITEHALL, THE 17TH
AUG. 1792.

Milord, dans l’absence du
lord Grenville, j’ai reçu et
mis sous les yeux du roi vos
derniers dépêches.

S. M. en apprenant l’éten-
due des troubles qu’il y a eu
à Paris, et leur suite déplora-
ble, en a ressenti la plus vive
affliction, tant à cause de l’at-
tachement qu’elle a constam-

MY LORD,

In Lord Grenville’s absence
I have received and laid before
the King your last dispatches.

His Majesty has been very
deeply afflicted in receiving
the information of the extent
and the deplorable consequen-
ces of the troubles which have
happened in Paris; as well on

Z z 2 account

ment eu pour les personnes de leurs majestés très chrétiennes, et de l'intérêt qu'elle n'a cessé de prendre à leur bien-être, qu'à cause des vœux qu'elle fait pour la tranquillité et la prospérité d'un royaume avec lequel elle est de bonne intelligence.

Comme il paraît que, dans la situation actuelle des choses, l'exercice du pouvoir exécutif a été retiré des mains de S. M. T. C. les lettres de créance qui ont servi jusqu'à présent à votre excellence, ne peuvent plus être valables; S. M. a jugé que vous ne deviez plus rester à Paris, tant par cette raison, que parce que cette démarche lui paraît la plus conforme aux principes de neutralité qu'elle a observé jusqu'à aujourd'hui. La volonté de S. M. est donc que vous quittiez cette ville pour retourner Angleterre, aussitôt que vous pourrez vous procurer les passeports nécessaires à cet effet.

Dans toutes les conversations que vous pourrez avoir avant votre départ, vous aurez soin de vous exprimer d'une manière conforme aux sentimens qui vous sont ici communiqués, et surtout vous ne négligerez aucune occasion de déclarer qu'en même tems que S. M. a le dessein d'observer les principes de neutralité, en tout ce qui regarde l'arrangement du gouvernement intérieur de la France; elle

account of his *personal attachment to their Most Christian Majesties, and the interest that he has always taken in their welfare* as for the earnest desire he has for the tranquillity and prosperity of a kingdom with which he is on terms of friendship.

As it appears, that in the present state of affairs, the exercise of the executive power has been withdrawn from his most Christian Majesty, the credentials which have hitherto been made use of by your Excellency *can no longer be valid.* His Majesty is therefore of opinion that you ought not to remain any longer in Paris, as well on this account, as because this step appears to him the most conformable to the principles of neutrality which he has hitherto observed. His Majesty's pleasure, therefore, is, that you should quit that city, and return to England, as soon as you shall have been able to procure the necessary passports for that purpose.

In all the conversations that you may have occasion to hold before your departure, you will take care to express yourself in a manner conformable to the sentiments herein communicated to you, and you will take especial care not to neglect any opportunity of declaring, that at the same time his Majesty means to observe the principles of neutrality in every thing which regards the arrangement of the internal

Go,

ne croit pas du tout s'écarter des ces mêmes principes, en manifestant, par tous les moyens possibles, sa sollicitude pour la situation personnelle de leurs majestés très-chrétiennes et de la famille royale; elle s'attend, avec le desir le plus vif, que ses espérances ne seront point trompées à cet égard; qu'elles seront à l'abri de tout acte de violence, qui ne manquerait pas d'exciter un sentiment d'indignation universelle dans tous les pays de l'Europe.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

(Signé) HENRY DUNDAS.

NOTE EN REPONSE A LA
COMMUNICATION QUI A
ETE FAITE PAR S. E. M.
LE COMTE DE GOWER,
AMBASSADEUR D'AN-
GLETERRE.

Le soussigné, ministre des affaires étrangères, s'est empressé de communiquer au Conseil Exécutif Provisoire, la lettre dont son excellence M. le comte de Gower, ambassadeur extraordinaire de S. M. britannique, lui a fait part.

Le conseil a vu avec regret que le cabinet britannique se décidât à rappeler un ambassadeur dont la présence attestait les dispositions favorables d'une nation libre et généreuse, et qui n'avait jamais été l'organe que de paroles amicales et de sentimens de bienveillance. S'il est quelque chose

Government of France; he does not conceive that he *departs from these principles in manifesting, by every possible means in his power, his solicitude for the personal situation of their Most Christian Majesties, and the Royal Family.* He most earnestly hopes that his wishes in that respect will not be deceived; that the Royal Family will be preserved from every act of violence; *the commission of which would not fail to excite sentiments of universal indignation throughout all Europe.*

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

NOTE IN ANSWER TO THE
COMMUNICATION MADE
BY EARL GOWER, THE
ENGLISH AMBASSADOR.

The undersigned, minister for Foreign Affairs, has lost no time in communicating to the Provisional Executive Council the letter communicated to him by his Excellency Earl Gower, Ambassador Extraordinary from his Britannic Majesty.

The Council has seen with regret, that the British Cabinet has resolved to recal an ambassador whose presence attested the favourable disposition of a free and generous nation, and who has never been the organ but of friendly expressions and of benevolent sentiments. If any thing can
abate

qui puisse diminuer ce regret, c'est le renouvellement de l'assurance de neutralité donnée par l'Angleterre à la Nation Française.

Cette assurance paraît être le résultat de l'intention sagement réfléchie et formellement exprimée par S. M. Britannique, *de ne point se mêler de l'arrangement intérieur des affaires de France*. Une pareille déclaration ne peut surprendre de la part d'un peuple éclairé et fier, qui, le premier a reconnu et établi le principe de la souveraineté nationale, qui, substituant l'empire de la loi, expression de la volonté de tous, aux caprices arbitraires des volontés particulières, le premier a donné l'exemple de soumettre les rois eux-mêmes à ce joug salutaire; qui enfin n'a pas cru acheter trop cher, par de longues convulsions et de violens orages, la liberté à la laquelle il a dû tant de gloire et de prospérité.

Ce principe de la souveraineté inaliénable du peuple va se manifester d'une manière éclairante dans la Convention Nationale, dont le corps législatif a décrété la convocation, et qui fixera sans doute tous les partis et tous les intérêts. La Nation Française a lieu d'espérer que le Cabinet Britannique ne se départira point, en ce moment décisif, de la justice, de la modération et de l'impartialité qu'il a montrées jusqu'à présent.

abate this regret, it is the renewed assurance of neutrality made on the part of England to the French Nation.

This assurance seems to be the result of an intention wisely considered and formally expressed by his Britannic Majesty, *not to meddle with the interior arrangements of the affairs of France*. We are not surprised at such a declaration made by an enlightened and high-spirited nation, who have been the first to acknowledge and establish the principle of the national sovereignty; who, by substituting the empire of the laws the expressed will of all to the arbitrary caprices of a few individuals, have been the first to furnish the example of subjecting kings themselves to this salutary yoke; and who, finally, have not thought too dearly purchased by long convulsions and violent storms that liberty which has been productive of so much glory and prosperity.

This principle of the unalienable sovereignty of the people is going to be displayed in a striking manner in the National Convention, the convocation of which has been decreed by the Legislative Body, and which will, no doubt, fix all parties and all interests. The French Nation has good grounds to hope that the British Cabinet will not, *at this decisive moment*, depart from that justice, moderation, and impartiality, which it has hitherto manifested.

Full

Dans cette confiance intime fondée sur les faits, le soussigné renouvelle à son excellence M. le Comte de Gower, au nom du Conseil Exécutif Provisoire, l'assurance qu'il a eu l'honneur de lui donner de vive voix, que les relations de commerce entre les deux nations et toutes les affaires en général seront suivies de la part du Gouvernement Français avec la même loyauté. Le conseil se flatte que la reciprocité sera entière de la part du Gouvernement Britannique, et qu'ainsi rien n'altérera la bonne intelligence qui regne entre les deux peuples.

Le ministre des affaires
étrangeres, LEBRUN.

Full of this confidence which rests on facts, the undersigned renews to his Excellency Earl Gower, in the name of the Provisional Executive Council, the assurance which he has had the honour to give him, *viva voce*, that whatever relates to commerce between the two nations and all affairs, in general, shall be carried on on the part of the French Government with the same justice and fidelity. The council flatter themselves that there will be a full reciprocity on the part of the British Government, and that nothing will interrupt the good understanding which subsists between the two nations.

The minister for Foreign
Affairs. LEBRUN.

The Reader will doubtless observe, that the two preceding papers have no date. But that may be nearly ascertained from M. le Brun's last statement, before the National Assembly, of the situation of France with respect to foreign powers, in which he mentions these papers. This was on the twenty third of August, and Lord Gower arrived in London on the first of September 1792.

August 23.

M. Lebrun, the minister for Foreign Affairs, presented a view of the present situation of France, with respect to foreign powers. It stated that,

Sweden had already declared its intention of not entering into the league of powers against France, and manifested a desire of forming commercial connexion with that country. Several Swedish officers likewise had requested permission to serve in the armies of France, and to fight in defence of liberty.

Russia had never disguised its hostile intentions, but for some time it could do nothing else but threaten.

The Southern Powers were in the same situation.

The German Empire has testified its repugnance to take up
arms

arms against France, excepting some Princes, who might be considered as in a state of hostility.

Holland and England always promised a perfect neutrality. The Dutch ambassador still remained at Paris, that of England was recalled; but the note which communicated this order to him, did not exhibit any hostile intentions. The English ministry only observed to him, *that the exercise of the executive power having been taken from the hands of the King, his credentials were no longer valid, and that, consequently, he ought to leave the country.* In short, his Britannic Majesty continues to entertain the same sentiments of perfect neutrality, but he is of opinion that he does not infringe this neutrality, by claiming every safety for Louis XVI. and his family. He testifies, that he expects to see these personages sheltered from every violence, the commission of which, he adds, would not fail to excite universal indignation.

Authorised by the provisionary executive council, the minister for Foreign Affairs wrote to the English ambassador to testify to him how ardently the French nation desired to maintain a good understanding with an high spirited people, who were the first to acknowledge the sovereignty of nations, and assured him that the executive council would take care that justice should prevail on every occasion in the intercourse between the nations.

The Assembly applauded this notification.

To the above, we shall subjoin an *extraordinary report* current at Coblenz, extracted from a recent publication, entitled "Observations on the Politics of France, made in a Journey from Spa to Paris, by T. F. Hill." The writer having stated, that, when he was at Coblenz in the month of October 1791, it was reported, that the French emigrants there received large sums of money from foreign powers; that they received considerable assistance from Russia, which the writer says he does not believe. "But, says he, the King of England was reported with more probability, though with more secrecy, to have replenished the empty treasuries of the emigration. A fact esteemed highly likely, both from his situation and character. The same rumour was reported, with added strength, towards the last December; and a sum named to the enormous extent of *half a million*. It is certain that the course of the exchange was affected about that period, in a manner sufficiently singular to authorize the suspicion. Such strange irregularities had not been experienced in it for the last half century. If the charity of his majesty has induced him to contribute thus largely to the support of the cause of Kings from his own private fortune;

fortune; certainly his subjects have, in the present situation of the political system, no right to object to it. But if such sums have really been issued from the public treasury for this purpose, perhaps they may think it paying rather too dear for the purchase of possible desolation even in France, or of the advantages of despotism in England."

It is well known, that the Hon. Mr. Jenkinson, son of Lord Hawkesbury, who has for many years been his Majesty's principal confidant, has been at Coblenz some time; and that he is but lately returned from thence*.

It has been also reported on the Continent, that at or about the time Mr. Jenkinson was at Coblenz, the Landgrave of Hesse acceded to the alliance of Princes united against France. It is certain that his troops were put in motion, in the month of August 1792; and on the 18th of that month, 7010 Hessians, under the command of the Landgrave himself, with a large train of artillery, arrived at Treves; from whence they marched towards the frontiers of France. The following are the concluding words of a letter from Brussels, dated on the first of September, printed in London on the tenth of September, "Ten thousand Hessians have passed under the walls of Luxembourg, going to join the army of the Prince de Hohenloë. These men are paid for by some nation, *not openly* in the confederacy, for this dealer in human flesh would not spend a guinea on any object whatever."

Having given a regular collection of all State Papers, in the preceding pages, with necessary explanations; and of facts, corrected with those papers; we shall now, in consequence of a judicious recommendation from many of our readers, present them with a faithful detail of the diurnal proceedings of the National Assembly of France; from the period of the Dissolution of the Executive Power in the King: in which we shall include all papers laid before the Assembly, and an authentic account of every important event; thereby rendering our Work a faithful Journal, diem in diem, of all interesting debates and transactions whatever, from the epoch of the dissolution of the French monarchy.

To the six French Ministers who had been appointed by the National Assembly, (See page 286,) upon the deposition of the King, was delegated the Executive Power, until the National Convention should meet. At the same time, the National As-

* Earl Gower, the British ambassador at Paris, arrived in London, on Saturday the first of September; his lordship is Mr. Lindsay *Chargé des Affaires*; but he also returned to London in about ten days afterwards, leaving the British interests in France, without any representative or agent. The public prints say, that Mr. Jenkinson arrived in London on the same day that Lord Gower arrived from Paris.

fembly appointed Commissioners to inspect the state of the several armies; with full powers to suspend and discharge all officers and soldiers, whom they should find unfit, or unfaithful to their trusts.

All the commissioners in their route to the armies, met with the most flattering reception in every town they went through; except those who were sent to La Fayette's army. When they arrived at the town of Sedan, Fayette; who had heard of their coming, ordered the magistrates of the town to put them in prison; which they did accordingly. When this information came to the National Assembly, they issued a strong decree against La Fayette, forbidding the army to obey any of his orders, and directing all officers civil and military, and all soldiers, to seize his person, and send him alive or dead to the bar of the National Assembly. As soon as he was informed of this decree, he meditated his escape from the army, and attempted to seduce a considerable number of officers and privates to accompany him, but his success in this measure was very inconsiderable. On the 19th of August, in the night he left his camp, attended by only his staff officers, seventeen in number, and a few servants. They took the rout of Rochefort in Leige, where they were apprehended by the Austrian general Harancourt, who was stationed there with an advanced party of troops. Leige being a neutral country, they pleaded the law of nations; but the Austrian general, being the strongest party, paid no regard to their representation. They were ultimately sent to confinement at Namur.

On the 22nd of August, a letter from the commissioners sent to the Northern army, was read to the National Assembly. They stated, that they had every where found the people highly satisfied with the decrees of the assembly: that when they reached Valenciennes, they sent for Generals Dumourier and Dillon. The latter sent word, that as the enemy seemed to be then meditating an attack upon his quarters, he could not at that moment quit his post, with honour to himself, or safety to the public; but on the 14th he repaired to the commissioners, attended by all his staff officers: That they then communicated to him their powers, to which he submitted without hesitation; he gave them every information they required, and they found him frank and loyal in every respect; that as for his military talents, they presumed not to give any opinion, because they were not professional men, but they heard all the generals speak of them in terms of panegyric: That on the 16th he told them that General La Fayette had sent orders to the two camps at Maulde and Pont-sur-Sambre, for a reinforcement of troops; but that he (Gen. Dillon) had taken upon him to disobey those orders, and prevent the departure of any troops to join him:

That

That they (the Commissioners) then gave directions not to obey any order whatever from Gen. La Fayette. That they could not lay to the charge of Gen. Dillon any one act, except his general orders on the 13th, at which time, he said, he was acquainted with all the circumstances that had attended the revolution of the 10th inst.; and he declared, with every appearance of sincerity, that he was ready to lose his life in the cause of liberty. That they afterwards repaired to Gen. Dumourier's camp at Maulde, where, from the general to the soldier, every man was true to liberty. One Belingre, a private in the battalion of Paris Volunteers, slipped his watch into the hand of one of the commissioners, as a patriotic contribution towards the expence of the war, and that he might not be known, he immediately mixed with the crowd; but such a trait of generosity could not be concealed. One Courtois, a sutler, made an offering, for the same purpose, of a silver medal that he had taken from an Austrian hulan. The Commissioners said, that above all they must inform the assembly, that they saw in the camp two sisters, Miss Felicitas and Miss Theophila Perny, who had distinguished themselves in several skirmishes and hot actions with the enemy; and who, in addition to a manly courage, displayed in an eminent degree the most amiable virtues of their own sex—mildness, sweetness of disposition, and modesty.

They further said, that the greatest joy prevailed in the camp at Maulde, when it was announced that General La Fayette was superseded in the command of the army, and succeeded by General Dumourier. The soldiers, in a transport of joy, insisted upon embracing their beloved commander, who immediately issued orders to the Municipality of Sedan to release the National commissioners, who were detained there under an arrest.

General Dillon soon after informed them, that all was quiet in his camp at Pont-sur-Sambre; that not a soldier had quitted it to join La Fayette, and that he himself could not sufficiently express the pleasure he felt in the appointment of General Dumourier to the Command in Chief.

Upon this it was desired, that the resolution for suspending General Dillon should be rescinded*.

August 23.

The assembly daily received a great number of addresses from different parts of the kingdom, congratulating them on the dethronement of the King, and assuring the assembly, in the

* This resolution had been agreed to a few days before.

strongest terms, of their utmost support of liberty and equality.

The National Assembly, this day, among other of its measures and decrees, in the most delicate manner, dispensed with the services of Général Luckner, and the command of his army devolved on Lieutenant General Killerman. Though this privation of his command was not intended as a mark of disapprobation of that officer's services, yet it was mentioned, that his want of knowledge of the French language had given much alarm to the nation, and had caused the assembly a great deal of trouble. It was added also, that his having a son in the adverse army might at least abate his zeal to destroy it.

The Minister of War, gave an account that Russia had declared war against France. That M. Genet, the French chargé des affaires at Petersburg, had been ordered away from that city, by the following note: "The disorder and anarchy which have for some time prevailed in France, to the prejudice of that authority which Foreign Powers were accustomed to acknowledge, and which are manifested every day more and more by new excesses, have at length determined the Imperial Court of Russia to suspend the intercourse and correspondence, which it formerly kept up with that kingdom, until his Most Christian Majesty shall be re-established in all those rights and prerogatives assigned to him by human and divine laws. On these considerations, after having recalled from Paris her minister plenipotentiary, and her *chargé des affaires*, who remained there some time, her Majesty thinks that the presence of the Sieur Genet, established under the latter title in her capital, is become not only superfluous, but even intollerable. He is therefore informed, that he must quit her capital in eight days, and the States of Russia as soon after as possible."

August 24.

The Minister of War announced to the Assembly, that the Volunteers of Soissons would be encamped before the end of the month; and requested that they might be considered as troops in the field, with this difference, that they should be paid in assignats, as being in the interior of the kingdom.

A dispatch from Marshal Luckner announced that he had renewed his oath, and protested his devotion to the public welfare. In it he makes use of the following remarkable words: "The Executive Power being suspended, I hope that I shall not be obliged to retreat any more. If I had not been called from Courtray, I should in a short time have given liberty to the Belges."

Several soldiers from the army of M. de la Fayette were admitted

mitted to the bar, and informed the Assembly they had been obliged to run across the woods, to avoid the seduction of their chiefs and to know the truth of the events of the 10th. M. de Veneur having wrote, on the part of M. de la Fayette, to the battalions a letter, of which the following is l'esprit: "They have annulled your Constitution. The factious have filled the measure of their crimes.—They have caused the Suisses and the Commandant General of the National Guard to be assassinated—And with arms in their hands, they have forced the legislative body to pronounce the suspension of the King. Soldiers, CHUSE between the King and PETION."

An order which they produced, and which the said general wished them to sign, was to the same effect.

M. Merlin then presented fifty vouchers, to support this complaint, among which is two private letters, and a letter from the commissaries sent to the assembly, which completed the conviction; in consequence, the assembly made the following decree against M. de la Fayette:

"First, There is cause of complaint against M. Fayette, formerly general of the Northern army.

"Second, The executive power shall use the most speedy means possible for executing the present decree. And all constituted authorities, and all citizens and soldiers are enjoined to secure his person by all possible means.

"Third, The assembly forbids the army of the North to acknowledge or obey him—and all persons whatever not to furnish or pay for any thing, but by an order of M. Dumourier."

M. Dumourier, who commanded the camp at Maulde, declared openly for the assembly, and the oath in favour of liberty and equality.

Sierck has been captured by the Prussians. Their conduct was cruelty.

The bronze images in the churches are to be taken down, in order to be formed into cannon.

The people of St. Denis have set the example, by sending a large brazen saint to the foundry.

The crown jewels are all ordered to be inventoried and sold.

Forty thousand men are to be encamped in the neighbourhood of Paris. The most vigorous preparations are making for this purpose.

The assembly decreed the following eight articles:

"1. The six secretaries of state appointed by the assembly, shall compose the executive power.

"2. They are charged to seal and promulgate the laws of the State.

3. Each

" 3. Each secretary in his turn, and weekly, is to preside at the council board.

" 4. A duplicate copy of each law is to be made out, signed by the keeper of the seals, and sealed with the seal of State; one copy to be deposited in the keeper's archives, the other in the National Assembly.

" 5. The laws to be promulgated. The decrees of the National Assembly are intitled laws, and are to be published without any previous formula—they are, however, to be concluded thus:—"In the name of the nation, the executive council, *ad interim*, order the administrative bodies and the courts of justice to transcribe these presents, &c."

" 6. The seal of State shall be changed: Henceforward it shall bear the figure of liberty, armed with a pike, with a cap of liberty at the top, with this inscription: "In the name of the French Nation."

" 7. The sentences of the courts of justice shall begin thus: "In the name of the French Nation."

" 8. The officers of justice, formerly called the King's commissaries, shall for the future be named National commissaries."

M. Bazire, in the name of the committee *de Surveillance*, presented several letters and memorials found in the King's library. The letters were written from Coblenz to M. Noailles de Poix, to obtain pay for the King's guards at Coblenz.—It appeared, that the King had paid them even after the month of January 1792.

M. Gohier, one of the commissioners appointed to collect the papers at M. La Porte's, the administrator of the civil list, read several important documents to the Assembly. The first was a printing-house account of work done and paid for out of the civil list, viz.

" An advertisement for sinking the credit of assignats.

" Ditto against the Jacobins.

" Ditto against the soldiers of Château-vieux.

" Advice to the Parisians.

" Proclamation of the emigrants, in yellow.

" A pistole given to the bill-sticker, for the blows he said he had received from the Jacobins.

" A letter from a grenadier.

" The order of the emigrant's march.

" Questions put to the emigrants.—Their answer.

" Another advertisement against the Jacobins.

" Hue and cry against the Jacobins.

" The shorter the madness is the better—in yellow, &c. &c."

M. Gohier continued:—he proved, that such libels were attended with great pecuniary advantages to the authors of them.

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He read a letter, addressed by one of the grand conspirators to the secretary of the civil list, in which he informed him of a project he had conceived of murdering the Jacobins, dissolving the National Assembly, taking the Duke of Orleans into custody, bringing about a counter-revolution, &c. &c.

M. Gohier concluded with informing the House, that proper persons were employed in examining the remainder of the papers found in the palace, and that they should in due time be communicated to the public.

M. Goupilleau and M. La Loy, other commissioners of the assembly, appointed to verify the papers found in the palace, came to communicate the result of their researches.

One of the most essential pieces was a letter, written in the form of a note by the King's brother, and found in a small morocco leather pocket-book in the King's desk.

We translate the letter verbatim :

"We wrote to you by post, and could say nothing :—We are two of us, but we are still only one : We have the same sentiments, the same projects, the same zeal to serve you : We observe the strictest silence, because if we broke it, we might expose you ; but we shall speak out as soon as we shall be sure of general support ; and that moment is not far distant.

"If you speak to us in the name of those fellows (meaning the Jacobins), we shall not attend to you—if in your own name we shall be attentive, but we shall go on our own way, (*mais nous irons droit notre chemin*) ; thus if they want to make you say any thing to us, do so—(*ne vous genez pas*)—fear nothing, for we only exist to serve you—we are labouring for you with zeal, and every thing is going on well ; your enemies are too much concerned in your existence, to be led to commit a useless crime which would prove their total ruin—Adieu.

"L. S.—Ch. P."

This letter was followed up by a memorial, dated November 10, given in by M. Delesclart, with notes by the King, and agreed upon with Messrs. Lameth and Barnave (the two most violent enemies of the King in the Constituent Assembly,) and the minister then in office ; Messrs. Dupont du Tertre, Bertrand, du Portail, and Tarbé. The memorial contained the following plan : To refuse the royal assent to the decree relative to the emigrants ; to write a letter to the princes, and notifications to the crowned heads of Europe ; to establish three courts martial ; to give reasons for affixing the royal negative to the decree concerning the emigrants ; to justify it by a proclamation, &c. &c. &c.

GENERAL CUSTINES.

A member requested and obtained leave to read a letter from that officer. M. de Custines had been named by the last administration to take the command of the camp at Soissons: He declared he was ready to serve his country wherever government thought proper to place him; but he did not attempt to conceal his regret should he be ordered from his present post, where, as there was more danger to be encountered, there was also more glory to be obtained. He owned with frankness, that he might be useful on the frontiers, infinitely more useful than in a camp near the capital. M. Custines complained, that certain persons had endeavoured to put him out of taste with the service: First, by giving a false interpretation to his intentions; and latterly, by ordering him to quit the spot of danger.

He said, that Marshal Luckner, thinking that M. Martignac did not do his duty at Landau, had given him (M. Custines) the command of that place. I obeyed, said the general, as soon as the order was communicated to me—I had not slept for five nights, and I was worn out with fatigue: You may guess what my astonishment was when I found the place unfortified—I rode in through a breach in the wall: Forty men a-breast could have followed me: The covert ways of the place had no palisadoes; the posterns were open; the garrison of 4000 men as if without a leader—nothing was prepared. I summoned the municipality to give me the state of the town: Their account was a short one; they assured me that nothing had been provided against.

Without taking the least rest, I ordered the posterns to be walled up—I appointed the rendezvous in case of an attack—I erected batteries, &c.

Unable to resist any longer, I lay down; fortunately for me, I had made some preparations, for, when I awoke, the enemy were within 1500 toises of the garrison: One of the first officers of artillery had deserted, and informed the enemy of my preparations. We marched forward to the enemy, and repulsed them! You may judge, after all that, whether I wish to leave a place where I have so much reason to expect success.

The Assembly applauded the zeal and bravery of General Custines.

One of the commissioners deputed to examine the papers found in the Thuilleries, declared that they abounded with interesting information, and that the most glaring and palpable treason was on the face of every document.

Here is a letter, said he, addressed to the secretary of the civil list, which will prove how much you have been betrayed.

THE

THE LETTER.

" MY FRIEND,

Turin, April 17.

" I cannot give you as good news as you have sent me from Paris by the courier extraordinary.

" Your National Assembly have acted ridiculously by declaring war against us. They could not, however, do us more pleasure. It is to be hoped those traitors of Jacobins will soon meet their deserts.

" You may rely on 150,000 men at least, both Prussians and Austrians.

" The city of Marseilles wished to infect Barcelona; but the vessels destined to carry them over were burnt.

" The Spanish regiments on our frontiers were corrupted; but they were soon ordered into the interior parts of the kingdom.

" We are told the King of Prussia is ill.

" Have the Jacobins sworn to kill all the Kings in Europe?

" Your assignats will not hold out long; the national bankruptcy will begin by them. The parliaments will be re-instituted. So much the worse for those who purchased the lands of the clergy; a national council will be convened, to restore all the former bishops and archbishops, and to send the swearing priests to bicêtre (the workhouse)."

The reporter said, there were several other letters that proclaimed infamy and treachery. It even appeared from some, that the Queen did not go the opera without an intent to excite some commotion among the people. In fine, the King's guard was assembled merely in order to bring about a counter-revolution.

Several citizens of Blay petitioned for articles of impeachment against the Queen.—Their petition was committed.

Addreses from several places were presented, containing very strong accusations against the Queen.

M. Brissot brought up a report relative to the treaties between France and the Helvetic Cantons.

In the year 1764, said M. Brissot, those Cantons had engaged to furnish 13,784 auxiliaries, the number is now reduced to 10,000 men: The committee extraordinary thought it would be prudent not to continue the treaty. The alliance of the King of France with the Swiss was nothing more nor less than a despotic contract: To break the treaty cannot be injurious to us, while we have a million of Frenchmen armed for liberty; we should, therefore, not hesitate to declare, that the Swiss regiments are no longer in our pay. Having thus premised, M.

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Brissot

Brissot moved, and the Legislative Body issued the following decree:—"The National Assembly, considering it necessary that the fate of the Swiss regiments should be speedily decided, and considering that the treaties with Switzerland are expired, decree,

"1st, The National Assembly, steady to the principles of French liberty, which does not allow the defence of their freedom to be entrusted to foreign troops, decree that the Swiss regiments, and the allies of the Swiss in the service of France, cease to be in the service of France.

"2dly, The Executive Power is charged to testify to the Swiss Cantons the gratitude of France for the military services performed by the Swiss regiments.

"3dly, The National Assembly, wishing to give the Swiss a token of esteem, decree that those among them, who desire to continue in the French service, and shall take on in French regiments, or legions, shall be treated like French citizens.

"They shall receive, as bounty-money, in the following proportion: Serjeants 300 livres, corporals 200, and soldiers 150 livres; they shall be promoted in their turn, and, until their proportion, they shall receive their respective pay of serjeant, corporal, &c.

"4thly, The Executive Power is charged to watch over the safety of the Swiss officers and soldiers who shall leave France—they cannot march out but by detachments of 20 men each, and without arms; they shall be paid for their arms.

"5thly, The Executive Powers is charged to send commissioners to all the Swiss regiments to execute this law.

"6thly, The Executive Power is charged to declare to the Swiss Cantons, that France wishes to continue in peace and amity with them.

"7thly, The Minister shall give an account of the state of the frontiers towards Mount Jura and the neighbouring departments."

A secretary read the following letter from the commissioners sent to the Northern army.

"Valenciennes, Aug. 19.—4th year of Liberty.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The commissioners you have sent to the Northern army rejoice, as they have only good intelligence to transmit to you.

"We were received at Valenciennes with all the marks of respect due to the high and dignified stations with which we are invested.

"The administrative bodies assembled with the council of the commons. We exhibited the documents of our authority.
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We then read to them all the acts of the Legislative Body since the 10th of this month. We were frequently interrupted by universal plaudits, by the acclamations of '*Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberté! Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!*' We conceived it to be our duty to call Generals Dillon and Dumourier about our persons, for the advantage of mutual information and counsel.

"General Dillon, with part of his staff-officers, immediately attended us. We produced our letters of authority; he acknowledged them to be authentic. He gave us general satisfaction, shewed us his correspondence, particularized all his military operations, and gave us unequivocal testimonies of his frankness and good intentions.

"He wished for an opportunity to oblige us. He informed us of the measures he had adopted, when he was made acquainted with the detention of the commissioners at Sedan. He paid us every respect; he placed a centinel at our door, and wished to give us a guard of honour, which we refused.

"Having learned that General La Fayette had ordered several bodies of troops to march from the camp of Pont-sur-Sambre, General Dillon issued counter-orders. He would not allow a regiment to move. We eagerly seized that opportunity to tell him he owed no further obedience to General La Fayette.

"The counter-orders of General Dillon had no effect. Several regiments were already marching to join the rebel chief. M. Dillon then hurried to the camp, harangued the officers and the men, and prevailed upon them to stay.

"We entertain no further doubts of La Fayette's intentions. As for General Dillon, we can only reproach him for the letter he published the 12th instant. We spoke to him on the subject; he informed us that he was then ill-informed of the events; and meant for the future only to obey the will of the people of France.

"We went to the camp at Maulde, commanded by M. Dumourier. We cannot convey an adequate idea of our reception there; from the general to the private, all loaded us with respectful attention, and hearty congratulations.

"We quitted with regret a camp, which is the scene of every civil and military virtue. Among the many brave fellows we saw there, we particularly distinguished two, whom we shall introduce to your attention:

"One is a grenadier, named Delingue, in the first Parisian battalion; he gave us his silver watch towards carrying on the war. Another soldier presented us a silver medal, which he had taken from an imperial hulan. We have also to speak to you

of two young ladies, sisters, their names Fermingues. They have signalized themselves in several actions; they unite all the charms of their sex, and all the martial virtues of ours.

"Nothing can equal the ardour of the Flemings; they are worthy of the cause they defend, and of the people with whom they are allied.

"We were going to quit General Dumourier's camp, when a courier extraordinary brought him the intelligence of his promotion to the supreme command of the Northern army. The news gave universal satisfaction throughout the camp, and we partook of it most cordially. M. Dumourier was overwhelmed with embraces.

"He ordered the detained commissioners to be enlarged.—At that moment, General Dillon came down to the camp, and assured us that none of the regiments had joined La Fayette—all the officers had protested they would submit to the decision of the National Convention.

(Signed)

"DELMAS, DU BOIS-DUBAY,
"BELLEGARDE."

The secretary for the home department informed the house, that he had expedited 40,000 copies of the collection of documents that proved the treachery of the court. He said, that the articles of impeachment issued against La Fayette were posted up all over the kingdom.

M. Merlin called for a severe law against the French emigrants, who point out to the foreign enemy the good citizens they are to butcher, and the disaffected to the right cause, whom they are to spare. One of those traitors, he said, guided the Prussians from house to house, after they had taken Sierck. The aristocratic houses were respected; the patriots burnt or plundered; and the friends to liberty were tied back to back, and carried to the Prussian camp.

August 25.

Several people appeared at the bar, one of whom, M. Chenier, thus addressed the Assembly:

"Legislators! at a moment when a National Convention is about to raise the French constitution to the level of the Declaration of Rights, all those who, in different countries of the world, have enlightened mankind, and contributed towards the progress of liberty, ought to be considered as allies of the French people. This alliance you must strengthen by a glorious adoption. When Rome became free, and mistress of the world—had subjected all the thrones of the universe, King's solicited the honour of being raised to the dignity of Roman citizens. It
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is not tyrants that we propose to adopt in the name of the French people, but bold philosophers who have sapped the foundations of tyranny. Decree to virtuous talents, and love of liberty, an illustrious and worthy reward, and let the benefactors of mankind be declared French citizens. Among those benefactors, we ought particularly to distinguish those whose enlightened writings have tended to procure liberty to America and to France—Paine, the immortal author of *Common Sense*, and of that excellent work *The Rights of Man*—Maddison, who has explained with great depth the system of reason—Dr. Priestley, who has acquired as much glory by his misfortunes, as by his virtue and his genius—Mackintosh, who has with great eloquence and strength of reasoning refuted the amplifications of Mr. Burke against the French Revolution—Pytaliozy, Malachowski, and others, have doubtless contributed to diffuse light over the globe, and do honour to the present generation.”

Referred to a committee. Reported, and agreed to. “France declares them to be her children, since they are those of liberty.”

M. Jean de Brie presented the following proposal for destroying the kings and generals who are now fighting against the liberty of France. He requested permission to raise a body of 1200 volunteers, who shall bind themselves by an oath to go and attack individually and collectively, and by every possible means, the kings and generals now at war with France. These tyrannicides to be called (*les Douze Cents*) the “Twelve hundred,” to be armed with poignards and pistols.

This plan was decreed, and the Assembly were going to settle the pay of these desperadoes, when Messieurs Verniaux, Masureur, and Sers, requested that it might be sent to a committee for re-consideration, as such a measure would induce the enemy to make reprisals, and consequently give rise to a war of the most horrid kind.

After a long debate the plan was referred to a committee.

There is but too much reason to fear that the war, as far as the emigrants are concerned in it, will be aggravated by all the cruelties which the rancour of civil discord can produce.

The following may serve as an instance: On the 4th instant, a body of emigrants and some hulans entered a small village between Philipville and Maubeuge, where they cut off the ears and noses of the men who fell into their hands, ravished the women and cut off their breasts, not sparing even children of either sex. They were surprised by a party of French volunteers and troops of the line, who, being informed of what they had been doing, surrounded the village, set fire to it, and drove such

such of the wretches as implored their mercy back into the flames, calling out to them—"No mercy in this world, go and ask for it in the other." Among the rubbish were found twenty-five half consumed bodies with shaven heads, from which it is supposed that they were non-juring priests.

August 26.

M. Servan, minister at war, appeared at the bar, where he read a letter from Marshal Luckner, containing an account of the capture of the town of Longwy by the enemy. By this letter it appeared, that the enemy, to the number of 60,000 men, presented themselves before the place on the 21st. The siege lasted for about fifteen hours, during which time they kept up a continual and heavy fire of bombs and artillery, which alarmed the citizens and administrative bodies so much, that they entreated the commandant to give up the town and garrison: Giving way to their solicitations, he obtained an honourable capitulation on the morning of the 22d. The Austrians entered Longwy without committing the smallest outrage.

M. Doffer, president of the military committee, alarmed at the consequences likely to result from this loss, declared, that nothing but the cowardice or treachery of the garrison could have enabled the enemy to get possession of it. The place, he said, was in excellent condition to withstand a siege. It was defended by seventy-one pieces of cannon, and excellent casemates. It contained abundance of wood necessary for constructing works to defend against bombs, and had a garrison of 3500 men.

"The commandant is a traitor," cried out several of the members—"his name! his name?"

The minister replied, "M. Delavgene." He concluded by proposing, "that 30,000 of the national guard of Paris, and of the neighbouring department, should march in eight days to the frontiers."

A letter was now received from the commissioners sent by the assembly to the army of Marshal Luckner, which confirmed the intelligence of the capture of Longwy, and gave some farther details respecting that business.

This letter gave rise to some new reflections, and it was at length decreed, on a proposal made by M. Cambon, "that a proclamation should be issued, inviting the national guard of Paris, and of the neighbouring departments, to unite themselves, to the number of 30,000, and to proceed to the frontiers."

The following proclamation was issued by the National Assembly upon this subject:

"Citizens, Longwy is taken or given up.—The enemies advance.

vance.—They perhaps flatter themselves that they shall find every where cowards or traitors.—They are deceived.—Our armies are indignant of this attack, and their courage is roused anew. Citizens, partake their indignation—the country calls you.—Go!”

It was decreed, that every citizen of a besieged place who shall propose the surrender of it, shall be punished with death.

M. Servan transmitted to the assembly the copy of a letter which he had written to Marshal Luckner, respecting the taking of Longwy by the enemy. The minister in that letter complained loudly of the baseness of those who so shamefully capitulated while the ramparts were standing, and while they had soldiers to defend them. He testified his surprise at the little resistance made by the besieged, and requested the general, in case he had not already done it, to form a court martial to investigate minutely the conduct of the officers employed in this affair, in order that if found guilty they might be ignominiously deprived of that life which they could not preserve with honour. This letter was much applauded.

Several petitioners came in virtue of the declaration of rights and of equality, to demand admission into the primary assemblies. The petitioners were day-labourers, who cultivated the land for daily hire, but did not think themselves comprehended in the class of real domestics.

Several members proposed that the case of the petitioners should be taken into consideration, that they might enjoy their rights.

M. Merlin observed, that this would be opening a door for usurpations, highly inimical to liberty; for the great land proprietors would thereby be able to elect themselves by means of the people whom they employed.

On the observations made by M. Merlin, the assembly ordered the committee of legislation to consider upon this business.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE AUSTRIAN ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF LONGWY.

BRUSSELS, *August 25.*

This morning at half past eight o'clock Prince de Schwartzberg, aid-de-camp to general de Clairfait, arrived here with intelligence of the capture of Longwy. According to the army account which he has brought, and which will be published in the Gazette of to-morrow, the fortress of Longwy was taken on the 23d instant, by the troops under the command of general de Clairfait,

Clairfait, who dispatched Prince de Schwartzenberg as a courier to her Royal Highness the Archduchess with the news.

From what we can learn of the circumstances attending the surrender of the town of Longwy, it has been effected with little or no bloodshed, a few workmen only having been wounded, and those on the part of the enemy. His excellency General de Clairfait, with his corps of the army, reached Longwy on the 21st, and immediately erected some batteries, which the enemy endeavoured to dismount by a heavy fire, which they kept up during the whole of the night of the 21st, but with no effect.— At day break our batteries played on the place, and some bombs were thrown into it, which at different times set fire to several places, but the enemy extinguished them. The night following, the enemy again played on our batteries, but to no purpose.— Count de Clairfait then sent a trumpet to summon the commandant to surrender, and on his refusal, prepared to surround the place. The besieged then agreed to capitulate.

The conditions were, that the garrison, consisting of from 1200 to 1500 men, should march out with the honours of war, and after having laid down their arms on the glacis of the fortress, should have liberty to retire into the interior parts of the kingdom, on taking an oath to serve no more during the present war. They are now drawing up an inventory of the ammunition and provision which they found in the place.

Longwy is one of the keys of the kingdom of France on that frontier.

ROTTERDAM, *August 26.*

Their High Mightinesses the States-General, from the same motives as the British cabinet, have ordered their ambassador to his most Christian Majesty the King of France, Mr. Lestevenon de Berkenrode, to quit the city of Paris and France, but not without previously declaring, “that the republic of the United Provinces is firmly resolved to remain neuter, and not meddle in any manner with the interior concerns of France; but that their High Mightinesses cannot avoid expressing the most ardent wishes for every thing which contribute to the personal safety of his most Christian Majesty, and his august family.”

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, *August 28.*

This day the following address to the inhabitants of the Northern frontier was voted:

“Citizens, your position assures you of the honour of being the first to fight for liberty; your country depends upon your courage; do you depend upon her gratitude; your children shall

shall be her's, she will take care of your wives; and if the tyrants ravage your possessions, she will consider an indemnification for your losses as a sacred debt."

M. Kersaint, M. Antonelle, and M. Peraldy, the commissioners sent to the army lately commanded by La Fayette, being returned, gave a general account of their mission. They had left the army attached to the assembly, and the defence of their country. They had every where found the strongest proofs of the treachery of the late executive power and of La Fayette.

A letter from the commissioners to the southern departments, stated, that the universal cry, wherever they went was, "Liberty and equality."

A letter from the administrators of Saar-Louis, dated August 24, informed the assembly that an army of 25,000 Austrians and Hessians, under the command of Prince Hohenlohe, was ravaging the country, and carrying off the inhabitants.

M. Metlin said, no confidence could be placed in any of the officers appointed by the King; and moved that they should all be removed without exception. This the assembly thought would be too direct an assumption of executive power, and passed to the order of the day.

M. Danton, the minister of justice, with three of the other ministers, desired to be heard on the necessary measure for the defence of the kingdom. "Longwy," said he, "is taken; but the safety of France depends not on a single frontier town. Our armies are still entire. Hitherto we have carried on a pretended war, under the direction of La Fayette: The nation must now make war in person; the whole mass of the people must now march against the enemy." He represented the necessity of suffering all measures of defence to originate with the executive power, and of converting all private arms to the public use.— "There were," he said, "more than 80,000 muskets in Paris, in the possession of private persons, which might be put into the hands of soldiers.

The assembly on his proposition decreed, that the municipalities are authorised to search private houses for arms, and to make out an account of horses kept for pleasure, that may be employed in the service of the army; that the municipalities are authorised to disarm all suspected persons, and to give the arms taken from them to such as will fight in defence of their country; that the communication between Paris and the other parts of the kingdom shall be entirely open; that six commissioners, members of the assembly, shall be sent to the nearest departments to accelerate the enrolments for the army; and that the military committee shall form a plan for the employment of waggons and horses.

August 29.

A letter from the ambassador to the Helvetic Diet, stated, that the Swiss were incensed at the accounts received of the proceedings of the 10th, and that nothing was heard among them but exclamations of vengeance. The ambassador complained of the delays in transmitting to him the necessary sums of money.— Ordered that the executive power forward the money to the ambassador, and that the diplomatic committee examine whether or not the ambassador should be ordered to come away, after declaring to the Diet, that it was the firm intention of France to maintain all her treaties with the Swiss.

The provisional executive council informed the assembly, that they had resolved there should be a camp at Chalons to receive the fugitives of any of their armies that might happen to be beaten, and to serve as a point of union for those citizens who might arm to oppose the progress of the enemy; and that they had appointed Marshal Luckner generalissimo of the French armies, to take his station at Chalons, and thence give aid and direction to the other generals.

The assembly authorized the ministers to make use of all the horses and carriages in the royal palaces, for the service of the army.

August 30.

The minister for foreign affairs notified to the assembly, that a congress of the ministers and generals of the King of Sardinia was held at Turin on the 8th of August, in order to determine whether his Sardinian Majesty ought to attack France, or confine himself within the bounds of neutrality. The Prince of Piedmont strongly opposed warlike measures, and pointed out the advantages of neutrality. His arguments had a proper effect, and his opinion was accordingly adopted by the congress. One of the first effects of this resolution, the minister said, was an order countermanding the transportation of camp equipage, and other preparations; but he could not help declaring, that the news of the events of the 10th of August might induce the court of Turin to lay aside its pacific intentions. He observed, however, that Savoy was not very powerful; that its army was neither so numerous nor so formidable as had been represented, and that it consisted of only 34,000 men of the regiments of the line, and a few regiments of provincials. These provincial regiments, he added, were unprovided with arms, and absolutely undisciplined.

M. Damourrette said, "I don't like that Louis XVI. should live with his family. Depend upon it, that means will be found to

to open a communication between the Temple and Coblenz, between Marie-Antoinette and the contemptible remnants of what was once her court, who escaped the hands of popular justice on the 10th of August. It is not enough that this *cruel and blood-thirsty woman*, this *female executioner*, who even now, in the very inmost recesses of the place which you have marked for her confinement, is devising means for *bathing herself in our blood*! Is it not enough, I say, that this woman is *still suffered to breathe*—but must she also be allowed to vent her rage in the bosom of nature, and form connections abroad, with those who betray us? If weighty considerations still prevent you from sending to Orleans this *implacable scourge of the French nation*, come at least to some resolution for making her devour in *solitude* her impotent rage, and take such steps as that Louis XVI. given up wholly to *his own heavy nothingness*, may be able to hold converse only with his *shame and his remorse*. I move, then, that the King and the different persons of his family be deprived of all communication with one another."

M. Cambon observed, that the custody of the Royal Family had been committed to the municipality of Paris, who would not fail to take care to prevent all communication between the prisoners within and their friends without. The motion, therefore, being not called for by present necessity, he moved the order of the day; and the assembly concurring, the order of the day was agreed to.

The minister at war appeared in the assembly, and communicated a resolution of the executive council, respecting the command of the army.—He said, that General Kellermann, to whom the command of Marshal Luckner's army was offered, having refused to take it, unless the Marshal should be declared generalissimo of all forces in the field, it was resolved, that the Marshal should be raised to this rank, and stationed at Chalons, a central place, and convenient for a correspondence between him and the different armies; and that duplicates of all dispatches from all the generals to the war-office, and of all dispatches and orders from the executive council to the different generals, should be sent to the generalissimo.

This regulation was received with applause.

A deputation from the artillery company of the section du Mail appeared at the bar: One of them thus addressed the assembly:—"We are threatened by ferocious enemies. Their steps are marked with blood and slaughter. They mean to bind us in fetters, and to seat again upon the throne old prejudices, pride, ignorance, and despotism. Tyrants! we fear ye not. We fly to the frontiers, and will be free, or nobly perish! We here

make profession of *hatred to ALL Kings, be they who they may*; and we bind ourselves by oath to defend with *cannon law*, the rights of the people."

Their zeal was applauded.

August 31.

Count d'Affry, who was colonel of the Swiss guards that were cut to pieces on the 10th of August, and who was tried for having ordered his men to fire upon the people, proved the following facts upon his trial, and to them was indebted for his acquittal:

"That on the ninth, at night, he received the Queen's commands to attend her at the palace; that he immediately waited upon her Majesty, who told him, that as she apprehended an attack from the people, she depended upon him for a manly resistance, and trusted that he would order the guards to fire."—That to this he replied, "it was impossible for him to fulfil her Majesty's expectations, as his hands were tied up by the terms of the treaty under which the Swiss served in France, and which restrained him from giving the orders that her Majesty required from him."

That upon this, the Queen, in a rage, snatched up a pistol, and threatened to shoot him, if he persisted in his refusal to order his men to fire, observing at the same time, "that he disgraced the name of an officer of *guards*, if he thought he ought to stand by, and see insulted or massacred those whom it was his duty to defend, and for whose defence he and his troops were stationed in the palace."

That his reply was, "Madam, my life is in your hands, and you may take it, but you cannot touch my honour!" That after this, he took an opportunity to get out of the palace, and appeared there no more.

Unfortunately, his son having more veneration for royalty, was found more tractable; he promised the Queen her wishes should be fulfilled. He kept his word; a dreadful slaughter ensued, and he himself fell a victim to popular indignation; for having been made a prisoner with many of his soldiers, after their ammunition had been exhausted, he was carried to the town-house; but the people, unable to bear the delay which a formal trial would occasion, broke into the house, dragged the prisoners into the street, and sacrificed them to their fury.

M. Lefource charged by the committee of safety, and the diplomatic committee, to examine the conduct of M. Montmorin, formerly minister for foreign affairs, delivered in his report.—He said, that as the notes found in the Thuilleries did not afford any ground for accusation against the ex-ministers, the committees

mittees had directed their attention to his political conduct during his ministry, in which they had observed cause for the three following charges:

" 1. That he had sacrificed the interests of France to the House of Austria.

" 2. That he concealed from the National Assembly the league entered into by the powers combined against France.

" 3. That he concealed from them the motions of the emigrants, and the manœuvres of the rebel Princes."

After proving from the correspondence of M. Montmorin, the authenticity of these facts, M. Lasource moved, that a decree of accusation should be passed against him. This was unanimously agreed to.

M. Guadet, in the name of the commission, presented a report respecting the papers found on M. Lavergne, governor of Longwy, which had been transmitted to the assembly by the municipality of Bourmont. Among these papers was a long letter sent to M. Lavergne from the enemy's camp, and dated August 19. In this letter the writer observed, that after the crimes which had been committed at Paris, more violent measures were to be expected from the army of the Duke of Brunswick. "It is not by base treachery, added he, that I wish you to deliver up the place which you have been appointed to command; but you may signify to your court, and those to whom you belong, that you cannot avoid opening the gates of the town to the Prussians who besiege it, and who, at all events, will soon render themselves masters of it. I can venture to assure you, that your services will be acceptable to the King's brothers, and they will not fail, as well as the King himself, when he recovers his liberty, to testify their gratitude to those who have supported them."

On the 21st, continued M. Guadet, the negotiation was begun, and what proves the baseness of the administrators, is their own *proces verbal*, in which they declare that M. Lavergne did not propose a capitulation till the garrison and inhabitants, finding that a continual bombardment was likely to reduce the place to ashes, concluded that they had no means of resisting so numerous an army as that of the enemy.

Among the facts which tended to prove that the town of Longwy was treachery given up to the Prussians and Austrians, M. Guadet stated, that three artillery men, detained in prison for a trifling fault, wrote to the governor, requesting permission to join their companions on the ramparts, and assuring him that they would return to confinement as soon as they had discharged their duty. This request, however, was refused. M. Guadet proposed,

proposed, therefore, the following decree, which was immediately adopted by the assembly, amidst the loudest applauses:

" 1. As soon as the town of Longwy is recovered from the enemy, all the houses, public buildings excepted, shall be razed to the ground.

" 2. The administrative bodies shall be then prosecuted by the criminal tribunal of the department, as guilty of the crime of high treason, and condemned without any power of appeal.

" 3. The commandant of every besieged place is authorized to cause the houses of all those who shall talk of surrendering, to avoid a bombardment, to be demolished.

" 4. The executive power shall transmit to the court martial ordered to investigate the conduct of M. Lavergne and the garri-son of Longwy, all the papers seized on the former, and which are now in the hands of the National Assembly."

LUXEMBOURG, Aug. 23.

On the 20th instant, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Prussians attacked the French post at Aumetz, near Villers-la-Montagne. The French made a vigorous resistance. From the reports of the different officers of our army, the assailants were twice repulsed, and it was not till they returned to the charge a third time with a reinforcement that they carried the post, and obliged the French to retire to Longwy; they took 84 prisoners, besides 22 wounded; but the Prussians on their part suffered greatly; the French state their loss to be above 500; 63 of their wounded were brought to Luxembourg; they had besides a colonel and five officers killed, and a captain and 80 hussars taken. In the evening there was a smart skirmish at Ottingen or Outtange, near Esch, where seven Frenchmen were made prisoners. On the 21st the Prussian army entered the French territory, and an advanced post belonging to a small French camp which had been established at Fontoy, two leagues and a half from Thionville, was surprised and cut to pieces; 17 wounded were brought into this place.

HAGUE, Sept. 1.

What happened in Paris on the 10th of August has much disconcerted the plans of the combined powers: A party was doubtless formed there by the King and his friends, to make an insurrection in favour of the Duke of Brunswick's army, as soon as they should have reached Paris; 30,000 cartridges, and many other preparations for hostility found in the Thuilleries and elsewhere, confirm the idea; But the murder of the Swiss guards, and many leaders of the King's party, and the letters and documents which the King had unadvisedly left in his es-
cru-

cfutore, and which fell into the hands of the Jacobins in the plunder of that day, have so deranged all the plans which were concerted to favour the arrival of the Duke of Brunswick, that it becomes a very different consideration now, how his operations shall be conducted. The Jacobins have made such use of the papers, and other circumstances they have found out that it is said to have taken great effect on the minds of the people, and they are now much more united in their opinions against the King and Royal Family than they were before. At a time when the commonalty are thus disposed, the Duke will perhaps think it not safe to venture to penetrate into the kingdom with such a body of troops as he had at first proposed; it seems more likely, that he will endeavour to bring the French armies to some decisive action; and if he can completely rout them, and strike a terror into the French soldiery, he may with the chief power of his army march to Paris, and drive the democrats from the capital of the kingdom.

A new Court of Judicature is established in Paris: It consists of two deputies from each of the 83 departments of that city, one of the higher, one of the lower order of citizens; to these are added eight judges, from the men of the law. It has been resolved to bring all the State prisoners to be tried by this tribunal. The trial of the Queen will take place; and, as the party have got full proofs of the Queen's intrigues, no doubt can be made of their pronouncing her guilty.

BRABANT AND LIEGE.

A second attempt at a revolution in these countries, is on the Tapir. The following proclamation explains the state of it:—

PROCLAMATION IN THE NAME OF THE SOVEREIGN PEOPLE.

“ The Commissioners of the general revolutionary committee of the Belgians and Liegeois united, established at Givet:

“ To all present, and to come, Liberty, Union, Equality.

“ This is to make known, that until the Belgic and Liegeois nation, delivered from the tyrannical oppression under which it at present groans, shall be able to exercise its sovereignty, and to organize and regulate its different powers, the revolutionary committee, following the wish of the people, has provisionally invested itself with the supreme administration of the high police, and with the public revenues of the country, between the Sambre and the Meuse, and of the territories annexed, heretofore tyrannically governed by the Prince Bishop, the Cathedral chapter, and the *sei disant* States of Liege, and by the other high
and

and subaltern aristocrates of the despotic empire of Germany; and that, in consequence, we have established an office of administration, and of the finances, in the ordinary place of our sitting, in order that the receivers and registers of the customs and taxes, and all officers and public functionaries may have recourse to it, for what concerns their respective charges and functions; as also that the inhabitants of the country, and all others to whom it may belong, may obtain there instruction, justice, protection, and redress of injuries; conformably to the solemn declaration of the sacred rights of a man and citizen, contained in our manifesto of the Belgians and Liegeois united.

“ We exhort all the inhabitants to a closer and closer union, as well between themselves as with the French citizens; their good neighbours and friends; to consult with them, as with the natural and necessary allies, as with brothers born for the same cause; and to procure for the National troops all possible succours against the conspired despots, against the common enemies of the liberty of all people.

“ We prohibit all persons who may be in the district of the aforesaid country, between the Sambre and the Meuse, from having recourse to, or obeying any other public authority than that approved, or provisionally exercised by the committee, in the name of the sovereign people and of liberty; and from daring to solicit, assert, publish, post, enregister, respect or execute any sort of prohibition or ordonnance, either of the actual government of Liege, or of Germany, or of any power leagued against the French nation, under pain of being reputed an enemy of the sovereign people, and of their liberty, and, in consequence, of being chastised rigorously under the popular authority, by arrest of their persons, seizure of their effects, and otherwise, in proportion to the crime.

“ We order the present proclamation to be published, posted and circulated in all suitable places.

“ Given at Givet, August 24, 1792, the fourth year of liberty and the first of equality.”

THE FOLLOWING LETTER HAS BEEN TRANSMITTED
FROM CHERBOURG, TO THE SOCIETY OF CONSTITUTIONAL WHIGS IN ENGLAND.

*Cherbourg, August 10, 1792,
and the 4th year of liberty.*

“ BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

“ Though the dangers of a general war surround the empire of France, the highest courage reigns in the soul of each citizen,

zen, and as a lover of liberty, he is desirous of life only to sacrifice it in defence of the constitution.

"Tyrants have coalesced to reduce us to dust, and six nations at a time attack France, designing to divide the spoils, notwithstanding your mediation and good office between the different powers of Europe.

"Nevertheless the revolution has united us, and the democratic party acquire every instant new force: Aristocracy is vanquished, but not destroyed. That Hydra of a hundred heads survives with all her wounds, and always rises when struck; she is irritated at her defeats, and always resists. In the church incense burns for that idol, and the benedicted clergy, the priests of Baal, for her offer human blood; in the army her partizans are sharpening their poignards; in the law, their pens are employed in her praise; in short, in all the estates she incites enemies to the people, and one conspiracy crushed is succeeded by new conspiracies; in one word, never did the demon of tyranny make more vigorous efforts to conquer—The genius of liberty is, however, on the watch.

"Rouse then, Englishmen, and become our auxiliaries! the cause is worthy your great courage—too long a time has the interested politics of other nations divided our two kingdoms—too long a time have our citizens reciprocally fallen the victims, of wars excited by the different cabinets of neighbouring empires—too long a time have our armies, influenced by despotism, directed against our bosoms the sword which should have pierced the heart of the tyrant. Now that philosophy enlightens our eyes—now that philanthropy warms our hearts—O, Englishmen, may the knot of the most intimate brotherhood unite us—may the most sincere harmony reign between two nations whom partial and sordid interest and fanaticism have separated only to revel in the spoils—between two nations whom they have compressed to cut each others throats, that they may drink the blood of their citizens. The great and reciprocal power by sea and land which our two nations enjoy under God has rendered us odious to petty Princes, who are sowing wars and divisions between us, that they may reign absolute; but between two nations of equal force, strength, courage, and ability, shall dwarfs and infants throw the apple of discord? Between two empires, always rivals, it is true, but always industrious and scrupulously just—always delicate in all their commercial transactions—always brave in the most desolating crisis of a battle—always humane, mild, and compassionate in such situations as would appal their enemies; between two nations who approach, who touch, who seem as if formed by the hand of God for the express purpose

of union. Shall we suffer the league to shake their infernal torch? Shall we suffer fanaticism to light her flambeau by the fire of the altar, to assume a form which seems to emanate from the Divinity, to carry with the more success fire and sword into the crowded squadrons of England and France?

"Ah! Citizens of the one and the other empire, all that we wish for is peace. Peace, the source of virtue and of happiness. Peace, which the diabolical Austrian harpy would drive far from our country. What then is our crime? English judges incorruptible—what have we done? Cherished our King, notwithstanding his desertions—securing the splendour of his throne by a gift of thirty millions—renouncing the barbarous right of seizing the property of neighbouring nations—desiring to obtain equality—to live free or die—such are our views—such is the cause of this criminal association into which these despots have entered to reforge fetters for France.

"Well, then, let them advance their numerous slaves—Who will sustain them? they will not gain the regard of one soldier or one free citizen.

"They have reported, that we are like feeble twigs, shaken by the storm; but our detractors should remember, that they who could cut the top of the proud oak, are neither parasites nor cowards.

"Scandalous report preface to us a rupture on your part—Calumny says you are arming against us.

"Would you join the lion, symbol of English courage, with blood-hounds, terriers, bull-dogs, who dare not attack the fox, but at that instant when the pack is strongest and most numerous? Far from us be such a system of cowardice; for if France expires under the stroke of England, she will not have to reproach herself with dying twice.

"How far have these reflections carried us! Citizens, always free! Englishmen, always generous! That *tyranny* which you have proscribed cannot but raise your indignation; but if, "though impossible," Despotism can have any attractions with you, shun France, for instead of a scepter, she will present nothing but graves; then may your pious tears water the ashes of Frenchmen, who are your friends and brothers.

"FERRON, President.

"LECUERN, Secretary."

P. S. If you are affected by this address, we request you to communicate it in the English language to all your clubs affiliated; as for us, we are eager to get it ratified by all the societies to whom we are affiliated.

PARIS,

PARIS, September 1.

The council general of the commons has published a resolution directing the execution of the decree for the *deportation* of the nonjuring Priests.

A register is to be opened in each of the 48 sections, in which every priest, who refuses to take the oaths required by law, is to enter his name and the place to which he wishes to retire. A passport is then to be delivered to him, and if he has no money of his own, three livres for every ten leagues he has to travel. The infirm, and those of sixty years of age, are to be sent to the *Maison de Port Royal*. Such of them as shall be found in Paris eight days after the publication of this order to be imprisoned for ten years.

M. Petion's conduct since the 10th of August has been so undecided, that his patriotism begins to be suspected, and he has been called upon by the section *des Halles* to state the reasons of his inactivity. To this he has returned the following answer:

“ CITIZENS,

“ It is my duty to comply with your demand. You desire to know why I attend so seldom at the council general. It is this: In passing from the old organization to the new, I did not see clearly what functions were reserved to me; between those whose places were filled with other persons, but who did not therefore think themselves deprived of their offices, and those who thought themselves legally invested with them. The ordinary course of affairs being interrupted; the administrative part being stopped, my activity was consequently restrained, and my presence became less necessary. I was aware at the moment, that whatever line of conduct I might pursue, I should be subject to censure. I was aware, that I could not take a decided part either the one way or the other without danger to the public interest. Balancing the important services rendered by the commission against its errors; the necessity of not lowering it in the public opinion, against the inconveniences of suffering its power to increase; wishing to prevent a dangerous and impolitic collision between it and the National Assembly, my perplexity was, and is now, greater than I can describe. In this situation I considered that time is the great teacher, and that there is a moment of maturity in all things which we must know how to seize. I have steered through these quicksands with all possible prudence, always guided by my conscience, and the rectitude of my intentions.

“ I am not ignorant that I am calumniated. I know that attempts

tempts are making to mislead the public opinion respecting me. No one has yet dared to bring any heavy and direct charge against me. It is held sufficient at present to prepare men's minds to receive them when occasion shall serve. To these manœuvres I shall oppose the whole course of my life, and some good actions. I will call upon my friends and my enemies to mention a single act of mine for which a man of honour ought to blush. I will continue to discharge my duty with zeal and with courage, and, perhaps, on finishing my career, I shall obtain the esteem of those who love men like themselves and liberty."

The Prussian hussars spread themselves over the country. They have penetrated to Clermont, in Argonne, the inhabitants of which made no defence. "Curfed be the men," says Brissot, "who are afraid of their houses being burnt; they do not deserve to be free."

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, Sept. 1.

This day M. Servan, minister at war, informed the Assembly by letter of the changes made in the army of the Rhine. M. Biron, on whom the minister bestowed the highest praises, had sent to reinforce the army of General Kellerman. M. Biron sent a letter to M. Servan, in which he told him that the canton of Berne had demanded a certain number of troops from the Emperor, in order that it might declare war against France; but he added, that the rest of the Helvetic body were far from adopting the principles of this aristocratic canton. M. Biron had likewise transmitted him a letter from Warsaw, which seemed to indicate that the King of Prussia might soon have cause for repenting that he ever joined his declared enemy against his natural ally. General Kellerman had informed the minister, that the army of the enemy was on its march towards Thionville.

M. Rolland gave an account of the present state of France. According to his report, the malecontents have not yet renounced their plans for disturbing the public tranquillity. The people in many places, he said, had risen, and manifested the strongest marks of a seditious disposition, which, in several towns, could not be suppressed but by the severest of all means, martial law. The Minister had, however, enquired into the state of the last crop, and assured the people that they had no occasion to be uneasy respecting provisions, as France had a sufficiency for two years.

The district of Verdun transmitted to the assembly a copy of the

the Duke of Brunswick's summons, ordering that city to surrender.

"The Duke of Brunswick in the name of their Imperial and Prussian Majesties summons the town of Verdun to open its gates to the armies of their Majesties. The troops and inhabitants of this town if they refuse, must be responsible for the misfortunes brought upon them by military operations; which will be carried on with the utmost vigour to reduce the place under the obedience of his Most Christian Majesty, its lawful sovereign. The inhabitants may rest assured of the protection of their Imperial and Prussian Majesties, and of the brothers of his Most Christian Majesty, if they obey this summons."

The answer given to the summons was lost, but the courier who brought the dispatches informed the assembly, that the inhabitants and garrison were determined not to surrender.

A letter from the commissioners to the army of the Rhine stated, that they had found the citizens, and the soldiers on the frontier, in the best possible disposition; but that they had reason to distrust the commanders of the fortified places, who had left the fortifications and the arsenals in a very bad state.

The minister for foreign affairs communicated to the assembly dispatches which he had received from the envoys at the Northern courts, and from the one at Constantinople.

Those in the North announced, that 22,000 Russians, under command of General Repnin, were on their march through Poland, in order to traverse Germany, and afterwards join the united armies of Austria and Prussia.

The minister, on presenting this information, observed that the Russian army could not reach the place of its destination before winter, a season unfit for military operations; and that he hoped long before that period, all the enemies of France would sleep the sleep of death—The French envoy at Constantinople had informed him that a Russian fleet of eleven ships was preparing to pass the Dardanelles, in order to enter the Mediterranean, and that six other ships were ready equipped at Cronstadt.

An extraordinary courier brought information, that the cannonade was begun at Verdun.

M. Amelot wrote to the assembly, that assignats to the amount of four millions had been burnt last night, making with those formerly burnt 611 millions. The total of assignats in circulation is 1,835,275,000 livres.

One of the secretaries announced, that the minister of the marine had transmitted to the assembly dispatches from M. Blancheland, the governor of St. Domingo, with intelligence that order was restored in the Colonies.

The

The president announced that two commissioners from the community of Paris requested to be admitted to the bar on pressing business. Leave being granted, one of them addressed the assembly as follows :

“ The council of the community, afflicted with the dangers of their country, come to deliberate on the measures necessary to be taken in the present awful and alarming crisis. It has been decreed, that the tocsin shall immediately be rung; the alarm guns fired, and that commissioners shall be dispatched to collect all those patriotic citizens who may be desirous of marching to the frontiers. The following proclamation has been issued :

‘ Citizens, the enemy is at the gates of the capital. Verdun is besieged. It cannot hold out longer than eight days. Citizens, let us repair to-day to the *Champ de Mars*—let an army of 60,000 men be immediately formed, and let us march towards the enemy.’ The community of Paris has decreed, that their operations shall be laid before the National Assembly, because they consider it as the rallying point of all good Frenchmen.”

This speech was followed with reiterated applauses.

M. Vergniaud—“ It is to day that Paris ought to shew itself; if it does so our country is saved. It appears that the design of the enemy is, to advance towards Paris, and to leave behind them our strong places, and even our armies. If they commit this piece of folly we shall profit by it. The enemy then placed in the centre of the empire, surrounded by our troops and by the grand army of Frenchmen, will be devoured by that land which they wish to moisten with blood. But, Gentlemen, the great hope of the enemy is, that they shall spread a general panic. Men either hired, or deceived, daily raise alarms, exaggerate facts, and that they may mislead the people with more effect, appear to be entirely discouraged by the smallest disaster. I wish we could discover these men and collect them into one town, such as Longwy, which should then be called *the town of cowards*. Gentlemen, let us silence those who take a detachment of Hulans for a whole army. Let us banish every idea of timidity, and let us give an example of firmness superior to all danger—superior even if necessary to the certainty of misfortunes. Let our energy be once more displayed. Let it appear in the midst of danger, a thousand times more invincible than in tranquillity. It is not Kings of brass we have now to overthrow—we must combat Kings who are surrounded with numerous armies.—The camp which was ordered has not yet been formed at Paris.—What?—shall we be less ardent in tracing out a camp than in preparing festivals? Where are those pick-axes and shovels which formed the camp of the Federation? Let every arm be employed, and let those who disdain this labour

bour be devoted to public contempt. Let twelve members of the National Assembly go every day, by turns, and handle the pick-axes themselves. Let them make ready—let them moisten the entrenchments of their soldiers with the sweat of their brows, and let the whole National Assembly dig a pit for our enemies.”

The assembly immediately rose up as one man, and the propositions were decreed.

M. Dumas—“The motions of the armed force ought to be regulated. Success depends on unity of action. Let the executive power point out proper places for assembling, where regulating commissioners may be stationed.” Decreed.

M. Marbot—“Let extraordinary couriers be dispatched to the interior departments to animate and encourage the people, and to communicate to them the exertions made in the capital. Decreed.

Mr. Rulh read a letter from the commandant of Metz. It stated that he had made an oath, that if the enemy took Metz, they should get possession of nothing but a heap of ruins and ashes.

The minister for home affairs announced the discovery of a conspiracy in the department of Morbihan. The conspirators dispersed all over the country between Guirande and Vannic, were to unite at Larochebernard. A tobacconist, of the name of Corfy, who was the chief of this plot, had been arrested.

The minister at War stated, that M. Biron had written to him that 10,000 men were to join General Kellerman on the 3d, M. Biron was likewise preparing a body of 15,000 men to follow the enemy, in case they should march to Paris.

M. Delcher moved, that twelve deputies should go to-morrow, and work from four in the morning till night, in the entrenchments of the camp at Paris. Decreed.

The ministers entered the hall, and M. Danton, the minister of justice said “It is a satisfaction to announce to you that our country will soon be saved. At the moment I am speaking to you, the commissioners of the commons are proclaiming in the most solemn manner, the danger of the country, and the necessity of saving it. You know that Verdun is not yet in the possession of the enemy. Our Generals are preparing to stop their progress; the whole people of Paris are rising; they are going to divide themselves into three parts. One will march to the frontiers; another will work on the fortifications; and a third, armed with pikes, will guard the interior. They are now in motion to the Champ de Mars. The executive power proposes to the assembly to appoint commissioners, who, in concert with ministers, may direct the enthusiasm of the people.”

We propose to you another measure—to decree the punishment of death against any man, who being called upon to march, shall refuse to do it, or give his musket to another.—The sound of the tocsin which now strikes our ears, will soon extend over all France. It is not the tocsin of alarm—it sounds to battle. We must have *boldness! boldness! boldness!* and liberty is saved.”

These propositions were decreed, and referred to a committee to be put into form.

The decree adopted on the proposition of the executive power was passed in the following form:

“ 1. Every citizen who shall oppose or retard the order of the executive power, shall be punished with death.

“ 2. Every citizen who shall refuse to march, or to deliver up his arms, is declared infamous, and a traitor to his country.

“ 3. The municipalities shall pursue proper measures for getting possession of the arms of those who do not march to the frontiers.

“ 4. Citizens who have uniforms, are requested to deliver them up.”

A deputy from the council-general of the department announced, that the people were demanding, with loud cries, the enlargement of the prisoners for debt, and the speedy punishment of all the accomplices of the crimes committed on the 10th of August. The doors of the prisons were breaking open.

The assembly appointed twelve of its own body commissioners to restore tranquillity.

M. Fauchet, one of these commissioners, said, “ I am just informed that 100 non-juring priests have been murdered at the church of the Carmelites—will my voice be heard?”

M. Sicard, teacher of the deaf and dumb, who was detained a prisoner at the Abbaye, wrote to the assembly, that after seeing seventeen priests, prisoners in the same place, butchered before his eyes, he had been saved from destruction by a citizen, named Monnot, who undeceived the people respecting him.

The commissioners sent to the Temple where the Royal Family are confined, reported that no violence had been attempted there.

The report from the commissioners sent to the Abbaye prison was very different. The mob drowned their remonstrances with their cries, and persisted in their savage intention of putting all persons confined for state crimes to instant death.

PARIS, September 2.

The municipality of Paris, penetrated with the idea of the danger of the country, and imagining a grand effort necessary, resolved,

resolved, in their sittings of this morning, to sound the alarm-bell, to assemble the people in the Champ de Mars, in order to form an army of 60,000 men ready to march to Chalons, or any other place. The intention of the plan was praise-worthy, but the event shewed that it ought to have been more cautiously set about. Immense numbers assembled, when some persons suggested, that previous to going to encounter exterior enemies, they should rid themselves of their interior foes, and that they should attack the prisons, particularly the Abbey and the Carmelites, where the conspirators (state prisoners) were confined; this was immediately put into execution, and a vast number of them killed.

The National Assembly sent twelve commissioners to stop the effusion of blood, but they could not. M. de Montmorin was killed between the legs of one of the commissioners.

The same fate was feared for the prisoners at Orleans, and the assembly ordered them to be removed to St. Saumur this evening.

The above is a summary account as printed in the French paper called *Le Patriote François*. The particulars are so differently related, that it is very difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood. However, the following we are induced to believe is pretty accurate.

Intelligence of the siege of Verdun arrived in Paris on Sunday morning, the 2d of September. The ministers anticipating the alarm, which the disclosure of such intelligence would produce, procured the decree which authorized them to close all the barriers of Paris.

The decree of the community of Paris was in these words:

" To arms, citizens, to arms! The enemy is at our gates.

" The procureur of the community having announced the pressing dangers of the country, the treasons with which we are menaced, and the destitute state of the town of Verdun, now besieged by the enemy, who will probably in eight days be master of it,

" The council-general decrees,

" 1. The barriers shall be immediately closed.

" 2. All horses fit to serve those who repair to the frontiers, shall be immediately seized,

" 3. All the citizens shall hold themselves ready to march upon the first signal.

" 4. All citizens, who, on account of their age and their infirmities, cannot march, shall deposit their arms with their sections, for the use of those who fly to the frontiers.

" 5. All suspected persons, or those, who, from cowardice, shall refuse to march, shall be instantly disarmed.

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" 6. Twenty-four commissioners shall go immediately to the armies, to announce to them this resolution, and shall traverse the neighbouring departments, inviting the citizens to unite themselves with their brothers of Paris, and march together to the enemy.

" 7. The military committee shall be permanent; it shall meet at the commons-house, in the hall formerly that of the Queen.

" 8. The alarm guns shall be instantly fired, and the *generale* shall be beat in all the sections, to announce to the citizens the dangers of the country.

" 9. The National Assembly and the provisional executive power shall be informed of this decree,

" 10. The members of the council-general shall repair immediately to their respective citizens; shall announce the purposes of the present decree; shall paint with energy to their fellow-citizens, the ardent dangers of the country, the treasons with which we are environed, or menaced; they shall represent with force, that liberty is threatened, and the French territory invaded; and shewing, that our return to the most ignominious slavery is the object of all our enemies, they shall urge our duty of burying ourselves in the ruins of our country, and of delivering our cities only when they shall be heaps of cinders.

(Signed) " HUGUENIN, President,
" FALLIEN, Secretary Registrar."

The above decree was immediately succeeded by the following *Proclamation*

BY THE COMMUNITY OF PARIS.

" Citizens, the enemy is at the gates of Paris. Verdun, which detains them, can only hold out eight days. The citizens, who defend it, have sworn to die rather than surrender it; they will make a rampart of their bodies for you. It is your duty to fly to their assistance. Citizens, march instantly beneath your colours; go to meet us at the Champ de Mars, that an army of sixty thousand men may be immediately formed.—Let us go and expire under the blows of our enemies, or exterminate them by our own."

The citizens assembled in the Champ de Mars, were addressed with such effect by several of the most popular magistrates, who had previously visited the sections, that, with one voice Paris seemed to devote itself for service against the enemy.

It is impossible that any statement of their numbers should be exact. The general estimation is forty thousand. Among these were the Marseillois, all the other *federés*, the citizens

who

who have really served in the national guard of Paris, and many of the most active pike-men of the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau. Many of these persons, accustomed to watch over and detect attempts made against their cause in Paris, lamented the alternative of remaining in the city, when the opportunities for active service were without it, or of suffering the capital to remain without its guard, upon the enemies within its walls.

A strong resolution was taken—"We cannot stay," said they, "without leaving the departments a prey to the enemy, and exposing our courage to the detractions of the suspicious; we cannot go without delivering our homes to the mercy of an enemy in Paris. We will, therefore, not leave a concealed army behind us." The phrenzied populace divided into parties, with this purpose, and the scenes which followed, cannot be described, even imperfectly, as the first accounts related them, without sentiments of the most agonizing pity and horror.

The prisons were first visited, and the doors of these were very soon forced. The National Assembly, informed of the tumult, sent twelve members to calm the populace, and preserve the prisoners; but their influence, which had hitherto been often effectual, was then of no avail. All the prisoners detained upon suspicion of state offences, are believed to have been murdered; the Abbé Sicard alone, who was but slightly suspected, and whose life was saved by the explanations of a M. Monnot, M. Montmorin, not the ex-minister, as was reported, but his brother, the late governor of Fontainebleau, was at one time surrounded by the twelve commissioners, who endeavoured to protect him. He was killed while two of the commissioners stood over him.

An ex-bishop, and nearly an hundred non-juring priests, were killed.

All the debtors were released.

From seven o'clock on Sunday evening, to day break on Monday, slaughter pervaded in the prisons of Paris. The most moderate accounts state the number of persons slain to be about twelve hundred. Other accounts say, four thousand. Perhaps the medium of the two accounts may be the nearest to the truth.

FURTHER PARTICULARS OF EVENTS AT PARIS, ON THE SECOND AND THIRD OF SEPTEMBER.

The following are the authentic statements, partly given to the National Assembly and partly published by the commissioners of the community, as to these events:

About eight o'clock, on Sunday evening, M. Duffault, one of the commissioners sent by the assembly to soothe the populace, returned and said,

"The Deputies, whom you sent to calm the people, arrived with much difficulty at the doors of the abbey, and there we endeavoured to be heard. One of us stood upon a chair, but had scarcely pronounced a few words, before his voice was drowned by tumultuous cries. Another speaker, M. Bazire, endeavoured with much address to obtain a hearing; but, when the people perceived that he opposed their wishes, they obliged him to be silent. Each of us spoke to our neighbours, on the right hand and on the left, but the pacific intentions of those, who heard us, could not be communicated to a populace of thousands. We retired, and the darkness prevented our seeing what passed."

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

"The commissioners, assembled during the suspension of the night, were informed by several citizens, that the people continued to visit the several houses of arrest, in which they exercised their vengeance. The committee thought it necessary to write to the council-general of the community to know officially the real state of things; and the community replied, that they were about to send a deputation to present an account of facts to the committee. At two o'clock the deputation, composed of Messrs. Tallien, Truchon, and Guirard, was introduced into the hall of the assembly.

"Mr. Truchon said, that the greatest part of the prisons were actually empty; that about four hundred prisoners had been destroyed; that at the *Hotel de la Force*, which he had visited, he had thought it his duty to release all persons detained for debt, and that he had done the same at Saint Pelagie. Returning to the *maison commune*, he recollected that he had omitted to visit that part of the *Hotel de la Force*, where females were confined; he returned immediately and liberated twenty-four, taking chiefly under his protection and that of his colleague Mademoiselle Tourzelle and Madame St. Brice, the latter of whom was with child. These he conducted to the section of the Rights of Man, to await their trials.

"M. Tallien added, that he then went to the abbey, where the people had demanded the registers of the keepers, and the prisoners detained for the affair of the 10th of August, as well as those for the forgery of assignats, were killed, eleven only excepted. The council of the community had sent a deputation to oppose these disorders. The procureur de la commune appeared first, and employed all the means which his zeal and humanity

humanity could suggest to him; he had no influence, and several persons fell at his feet.

"The people went to the Chatelet, where the prisoners were also sacrificed.

"About midnight they went to the Force, where the commissioners of the community met, but were unable to command the people. Several deputations succeeded, and an order was given to the commandant-general to send some detachments there, but the service of the barriers detained so many men, that there were not enough left to execute his orders.

"The commissioners again used their utmost endeavours to prevent excesses, but they could not prevent in some sort the just vengeance of the people; for we ought to say," added M. Tallien, "that their rage fell upon the forgers of assignats, and other prisoners, who had been detained for four or five months. What most excited their vengeance was, that there were only there some known villains."

M. Guiraud, the third commissioner, said, "The people went to Bicêtre with seven pieces of cannon. In exercising their vengeance, they exercised only justice. At the Châtelet, several prisoners were discharged, during shouts of "Vive la nation," and the clang of arms. The prisons of the palace are absolutely empty, and but few of the prisoners have escaped death."

M. Tallien added, "A man has just brought five louis in gold and eighty-three livres of the new coin in silver, found in the pocket of a Swiss." A depositary has been formed for the effects found upon the prisoners.

M. Guiraud added, that the people had instituted upon the Pont Neuf, an examination of the bodies, and a depositary of money and pocket-books. A man taken in the act of stealing a pocket-handkerchief, was killed. "I forgot," said M. Guiraud, "one circumstance. The people formed in the prisons a tribunal, composed of twelve persons. After reading the registers of commitment, and putting some questions to the prisoners, the persons who acted as judges, put their hands upon the head of each prisoner, and asked, "Do you think that in our conscience we can release this gentleman?" When *yes* was said, the person who was apparently released, hurried upon the pikes, and was instantly killed. No, was a declaration of innocence, the cries of "Vive la nation" followed it, and the accused was set at liberty."

[So far the formal accounts.]

M. Rhuiliere and the Abbé Bardsy, were the first killed in the hotel de la Force; the Abbés l'Enfant, the King's confessor, and M. M. Chapt de Rastignac and Fontenay, fell at the Carmes.—

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M. St. Meard, accused of writing in the *Journal de la Cour et de la Ville*, underwent a summary trial, but his articles were not held highly criminal, and he was acquitted. His judge conducted him to the house of a friend, who offered money to his deliverer, but this was refused. In the abbey, was M. Journeau, a member of the National Assembly, imprisoned on account of his quarrel with M. Grangeneuve. The assembly, informed of his danger, claimed him by a decree, and he returned, with the copy of it upon his breast.

The massacre of the refractory priests is imputed to the endeavours of several to pass the barriers in the disguise of national guards. The number killed of these is said to be two hundred and sixty-four; twelve, who had kept schools, were spared. At Saint Pelagie, fifty-one men and two women, who were confined for debt, were set at liberty. At the Force there were no prisoners for debt. All, who were connected with the affair of the 10th, were put to death; those held innocent of it, after the summary examinations which took place, were released. The prisoners at the Conciergerie were killed at the foot of the grand stair-case of the palace, and those from the Châtelet at the Pont au Change.

At the Bicêtre, a considerable quantity of musquets, and four cannon, were seized from the prisoners.

Madame Lamballe, after undergoing a long interrogation in the prison, was beheaded, and her body was drawn through a part of the streets.

Madame Septeuil and M. Chamilly, the latter, one of the valets de chambre to the King, were conducted to their homes by the populace, who placed before the door of Madame Septeuil, a blue ribbon, with this inscription—"Citizens, respect this barrier: She is tranquil."

M. de la Motte, who was in the Bicêtre, escaped. The justice of the peace of the section of the Thuilleries, survived the massacre at the Hotel de la Force. The Abbé Sicard, upon his escape, was conducted to the National Assembly, and invited to the honours of the sitting. Upon his entrance, many members arose to embrace him.

M. Bachman, major of the Swiss guards, whose trial commenced previous to the tumult, on the 2d, was formally condemned by the tribunal on the 3d, and executed the next day.

All the *état major* of the Swiss were killed in prison, M. d'Afry, the commander, excepted, who was conducted to his home by the people.

The non-juring priests, who were transferred to Cambray, were conducted on the 30th of August, to the *ci-devant* abbey of

of Saint Aubert. The council-general of the community has resolved, that those, who will leave the kingdom, shall be conducted to the frontiers. M. Casotte was among the persons spared in the prisons.

It was once stated in the assembly, that the populace threatened the Temple, and the community requested the assembly to send a guard for the preservation of the King and Queen; "not a guard of soldiers," said they, "for resistance by force will be vain; but a guard of legislators." The assembly immediately deputed commissioners, from whose report it appears, that not the least violence was attempted against the Temple, during the whole tumult.

Of the proceedings at the Temple, the following account was published by Mons. Gorfás:

"On Monday the 3d of September, an immense multitude of people hurried to the Temple, carrying the mutilated body of Madame Lamballe. The counsel had assembled, together with a deputation of the assembly. They had taken all precaution possible to avoid a shock, and knowing well that the impetuosity of the multitude was not to be resisted by force, they inspected the arms of the guard to see that none of them were loaded, and they ordered them to unfix their bayonets.—They then placed the three-coloured ribband as a barrier at the gate, with this inscription:

"Citizens!

You who to a just vengeance

Know how to join the love of order,

Respect this barrier;

It is necessary to our vigilance,

And to our responsibility!"

"At three o'clock the people arrived. A sentiment of veneration stopped them at the sight of this *insurmountable* barrier," says Gorfás. They approached it, however, to kiss it, which they did with religious respect.—Two commissioners then advanced towards the people. "Magistrates that we honour," said this people, ever astonishing, ever just in the midst even of the greatest crisis (we translate literally)—"we do not come to lay hands, we do not call it sacrilege, on the hostage confided to your vigilance; but we desire that a number fixed by yourselves shall accompany this impious head to the foot of the throne.—We desire that those who are the cause of so many mischiefs should see the sad and fatal result of their conspiracies and infernal plots." The two commissioners thought it their duty to make this slight sacrifice to prevent all the dangers that was in the order of things to be apprehended. In consequence of this, M. M. Chardier, Guichard, an officer of the National guard, and Palloi, the architect, took the resolution to make
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known to Louis XVI. and his family, the events, which they did, with all practicable delicacy. Marie Antoinette and Madame Elizabeth manifested for the first time some sensibility. As to Louis XVI. he came forward, saying to the person who shewed him the head of Madame Lamballe, and who made a short speech, 'Vous avez raison, Monsieur.'—You did right, Sir."

Here it will not be improper to introduce a few observations tending to explain the causes of the preceding events. Every feeling heart must undoubtedly be afflicted. But on whom ought the public indignation to fall? On the poor persecuted Parisians, who having attained the possession of a free constitution, are now about to be plundered of it, to have their houses demolished, and to be themselves murdered, if their city should be taken, and perhaps some of them tortured likewise. Or on those confederated kings, who having united to extinguish liberty totally in France, with a bloody and vindictive proscription, thereby left no alternative for Frenchmen but success or despair? I mean not to justify crimes which not even this dreadful exigency of situation can justify; but I do mean to aver, that it would be as unjust to execrate a madman for the mischiefs he may commit, when the practices of others have driven him to frenzy, as to indulge ourselves in indiscriminate censure against the Parisians, for excesses which never would have been perpetrated, had they not been, as they are, hurried into a temporary desperate insanity. For this is not a common warfare, and cannot have a common termination. If the French are defeated, *Paris is to be subverted*; what will be infinitely more horrid than even the late murders, *it is to be given up to military execution. The ancient despotism is to be re-established.* I assert this, because if any thing can be gathered from the last declaration of the princes as to their future intentions it is this, and more especially, because no plan of that moderated liberty which was once talked of as being framed by Calonne, has either preceded, accompanied, or followed the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto, which for the sake of influencing the French would certainly have been published, if any such were meant to be established.—"The whole nation of France is to be given up into the hands of an irritated and revengeful Noblesse." Can we talk of present atrocities, if we for a moment reflect, what will then be the horrid and inevitable consequences? Whoever succeeds in a civil war always will be cruel. But here the passions of the emigrants, flying to revenge in the car of military victory, will almost insatiably call for their victims and their booty. Sitting in our chambers, we naturally shudder at such dismal scenes as these. But let every individual ask himself, were he to be under the

he alarm that to-morrow his house might be pulled down, his property confiscated, and himself executed with tortures, that all his neighbours would share the same fate, and that a powerful army was rapidly marching to inflict all these, and that a body of emigrant traitors were attending to suggest the most sanguinary counsels; could this individual, could any man of common fortitude feel the certainty of all these approach his imagination, and yet retain his reason?

It is not in human nature. The Duke of Brunswick has made the Parisians what they are. I permit them to be called tigers, wolves, and madmen. I tremble while I read their present actions, but I recollect that no man is naturally a tiger, a wolf, or a madman, and therefore that a whole city would never have been so ferocious, had they not been chased and forced into their delirium by the bloody menaces of Prussia and Austria. And which character is the most horrid? The Parisians acting in this delirium, because they see their dearest interests at hazard; or the Duke and his army, who, without any provocation either national or personal, are coolly and systematically marching, not to murder three hundred, but at least three hundred thousand men, for defending their own country, and endeavouring to be free? On the head of the Duke of Brunswick, and of those who lead on Prussia into this war, must almost all the guilt of this massacre be laid.

P. S. Consider again, 22,000 Russians called into France, to do what the Duke dare not order his Prussians to do, to renew the horrid slaughter of Ismail, and conquer by extermination. O holy, virtuous, guiltless confederacy of princes!

On the third of September, M. Servan, Minister at War, sent the following letter to the National Assembly.

4th year of Liberty, and 1st of Equality.

“MR. PRESIDENT,

“I have just received from M. Dumouriet a letter, the substance of which I hasten to communicate to you, because it appears to me calculated to calm the sollicitudes that we now entertain. Give us firmness, calm men, and arms, and the country is yet saved! Such is, Mr. President, my opinion, and that of all men who have military knowledge.

“After having given me an account of some operations, and among others of a skirmish between his advanced guard, and a body commanded by General Clairfait, M. Dumouriet says—

‘Our people have shewn the greatest courage. We only lost two dragoons. We have some wounded, one of whom, the captain of the 12th regiment of dragoons, has a severe wound

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in the head. We took two horses from the enemy, and in all they lost about 30 men.'

"M. Dumourier then announces that he has united all his army, and that he is on the march to cover Champagne. That the camp of Pont-sur-Sambre is to join him in a strong position, and that by these means he will have 25,000 men. 'If there shall arrive,' adds he, 'succours from Paris by Chalons, and by Saint Menchault, I shall be able to give to General Kellerman the means of saving Verdun, if it yet holds out. It is of infinite importance that the siege should engage their grand army long enough to give me time to assemble my forces at Antry, and there to receive succours.'

"I receive at the same time a letter of M. Duhoux, Commandant of the camp at Soissons. He has departed at the head of all the troops that he commands. His Commissary General hopes the citizens will give up their arms. Every one, adds he, is animated by the truest patriotism, and I do not doubt, but there will be this evening a great concourse of men at Rheims. The Commissary General concludes his letter thus—'Rheims, defended against the enemy, covers by its position, Chalons and Soissons, cities that at this moment contain military effects of all kinds in great abundance, as well as grain for the subsistence of the troops. I am led to believe, Sir, that the Austrian party which has taken Clermont en Argonne, is composed only of light troops, and that we have nothing to fear but from incursions of this kind.'

"I have received this evening a dispatch from M. Luckner, it is dated the 1st instant. He tells me, that his advanced guard on the 31st, repulsed with success a strong body of the enemy.

"I have just dispatched an extraordinary courier, to announce to M. Dumourier the movements of M. Duhoux, and another to M. Duhoux, to intimate to him those of General Dumourier. A third is gone to make known to General Kellerman the dispositions, as it is only by the concert of our operations that the public cause can be saved. Yes, Mr. President, let us be calm, firm, united, and the country is saved.

"The troops, already departed from Paris, and those which we shall send off successively, joining themselves with General Duhoux, we shall, in a very short time have an army in Champagne, which will certainly prevent the enemy from penetrating into the interior of the kingdom.

"I am, with respect, M. President,

"P. SERVAN."

On the same day M. Rolland minister of the Home Department, who, in June last stated some bold truths to the King
(See

see his letter to the King in page 176,) Sent the following letter to the National Assembly :

PARIS, *Sept. 3, 4th year of Liberty, 1st of Equality.*

“ MR. PRESIDENT,

“ I am about to fulfil a sacred duty, the accomplishment of which may cost me dear ; but I have never capitulated with my conscience, and I shall, at all events, obey her voice.

“ I shall not here repeat what were the circumstances, that first brought me to a ministry, which I had never desired, or expected ; I saw in it only an opportunity of developing principles, of which a love of humanity forms the basis. I told the truth loudly to a King, whom I saw commit the safety of the empire by losing himself. No consideration could influence my courage ; I loved my country too well to care even for glory ; and when the interest of all was to be agitated, I no longer saw any thing that was personal.

“ The national confidence has again imposed upon me the burthen of ministry in a time still more turbulent ; I have received it without hesitation, because that confidence is a law to me ; I support it without weakness, and I shall sacrifice my life to it as long as I can usefully hold it ; but I ought to decline it from the moment in which it may become a representative phantom, without action and without influence.

“ What is the state of present affairs ; what consequences must it have ; what duty does it impose ?

“ I know that revolutions are not estimated by ordinary rules, but I know also, that the power which produces them, should speedily range itself under the shelter of the law, if it does not desire to operate an entire dissolution. The anger of the people and the movements of an insurrection may be compared to the action of a torrent which destroys obstacles, which no other power could ; but its overflow spreads wide havock and devastation, if it does not speedily turn to its bed. Without the day of the 10th it is evident, that we should have lost ; the court, prepared for a long time, waited for the hour which was to accumulate all treasons, to display over Paris the standard of death, and to reign there by terror. The sentiment of the people, always just and ready, when their opinion is not corrupted, foresaw the epoch marked for their destruction, and rendered it fatal to conspirators.

“ It is in the nature of things, and in that of the human heart, that victory should bring with it some excess. The sea, agitated by a violent storm, roars long after the tempest ; but every thing has bounds, which ought at length to be observed.

“ If disorganization becomes a habit ; if men zealous, but without information and without measures, pretend to interfere

daily with administration, and to fetter its progress; if, by the support of some popular favour, obtained with great ardour and kept with great talking, they spread distrust, sow denunciations, excite fury, and dictate proscriptions, the government is no longer more than a shadow! it is nothing; and the man of worth, committed to the helm of affairs, ought to retire, since he can no longer direct them, for he is not placed there to be an image, but for action. The provisional community has rendered great services; it does not need my testimony in that respect, but I render it with a full heart: The provisional community at present errs by the continued exercise of a revolutionary power, which should never be more than momentary, lest it should be destructive, and it prepares for us great evils, if it still delays to confine itself within its just bounds. Here is another testimony, which I give, as bold as the first, for truth is due to people as well as to kings, and I shall not be more silent to one than to the other.

“ The assembly has given wise decrees, which preserve to the Council General the commissioners to whom the sections continue their confidence; but this council, as the name expresses, is only for deliberations; the action should be concentrated in the municipal body, that it may be less divided and more vigorous; that body is executive and ought to be so. The mayor should enjoy the influence attributed to him by the law. The respective limits, however, continue to be forgotten, or unknown; orders increase; it is often not known from whom they proceed, and the responsibility of the minister and the mayor becomes illusive, or cruel, since it extends to facts, of which they have no knowledge, or which they cannot prevent. Never was unity of action more necessary. Warlike and numerous enemies establish themselves upon our territory; they threaten the capital; towards it they direct their rage and their despair; there their vengeance is to be exercised; there they hope to dissolve the government, and to reap their advantages. Without doubt, the energy of the people, well directed, will oppose to them barriers innumerable; but it is precisely for this direction, that we should be together and in activity; both are possible, when all the world commands. I have seen the minister at war sigh over the delays given to the formation of the camp by the interference of a committee, ardent and zealous, but a stranger to dispositions of that nature.

“ The people, it is said, should be present, in person, or by their commissioners, to observe the conduct of the executive power. Let it be so; but they should suffer this power to act, or they must perish in the midst of their own debates. Either the persons charged with this power enjoy their confidence, or
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they do not; in the last case, they ought to retire; in the first they ought to use, with all their energy, the power which is entrusted to them. A jealous restlessness still ferments and sharpens against this power; as if it rendered the men, between whom it is divided, essentially vicious; as if an identity of names made that of things; and if responsible ministers should have nothing in common with that, which was an inviolable king.

"Yesterday, in the very bosom of the *Maison Commune*, the ministers were denounced, vaguely, indeed, as to matter, because subjects for reproach were wanting, but with that warmth and force of assertion, which strike the imagination, seduce it for a moment, which mislead and destroy confidence, without which no man should remain in place in a free government.

"Yesterday, again, in an assembly of the presidents of all the sections, convoked by ministers, at the house of the mayor, with the intention of conciliating all minds, and of mutual explanation, I perceived that distrust, which suspects, interrogates, nourishes confusion, and fetters operations.

"Yesterday was a day, upon the events of which it is, perhaps, necessary, to leave a veil; I know, that the people with their vengeance mingled a sort of justice; they did not take for victims all who presented themselves to their fury; they directed it to them, who had, for a long time, been spared by the sword of the law, and who they believed, from the peril of circumstances, should be sacrificed without delay. But I know, that it is easy to villains and traitors to misrepresent this effervescence, and that it must be checked; I know that we owe to all France the declaration, that the executive power could not foresee, or prevent this excess; I know, that it is due to the constituted authorities to place a limit to it, or to consider themselves as abolished. I know also, that this declaration exposes me to the rage of the tumultuous. Well, let them take my life; I would preserve it only for liberty and equality: If these are violated and destroyed, either by the reign of foreign despots, or by the errors of a deceived people, I have lived long enough; but until my last breath, I shall do my duty; that is the only good to which I aspire, and of that no power upon earth shall deprive me.

"The safety of Paris requires, that all the powers shall return immediately to their respective bounds. The approach of the enemy; the great measures to be taken against them, demand, I repeat it, an unity of action, a compression, which cannot be found in the conflict of authorities. It is for the National Assembly to pronounce in this respect with the elevation and the vigour, which such great interests demand. It is my duty to describe to them this state of affairs, that their wisdom may immediately

immediately take the suitable determinations, and that in the afflicting, but gratuitous supposition, that these determinations have not the desired effect, the loss of the capital may not bring with it that of the empire.

“ But the people, docile to the voice of their legislators, when they are acquainted with circumstances, informed by them, as to their interests, recalled by them to the regular conduct which they ought to hold, will soon perceive, that they ought to honour their own work, and to obey their representatives, until the period, which will renew them with greater powers; they will perceive, that the fate of the capital depends upon its union with the different departments; they know, that the South, full of fire, of energy, and of courage, was about to separate from us, for the purpose of confirming its independence, when the revolution of the 10th of August had the effect of a Convention, which ought to rally all; they will perceive, that the wise and the timid will easily meet to form this convention elsewhere, if Paris does not afford an union of the fullest liberty, with the lights which support opinion; they will judge, from the first moment of calm and reflection, that the assistance and support which they expect from all the departments, can be only the fruit of union, and of the confidence which establish and justify the maintenance of order and the observance of the laws; they will know, in fine, that their hidden enemies may make use of this agitation to hurt their best friends, and their most formidable defenders. Already the example begins; let it restrain and arrest a just rage. Indignation, carried to its height, commences proscriptions, which fall only upon the guilty; but with which error, particular passions, may shortly envelop the honest man.

“ There is yet time, but there is not a moment to be lost. Let the Legislators speak, let the people hear, and let the reign of the laws be established.

“ As to me, who expose myself equally to error and malevolence, because I desire only the good of all, and because I ought to facilitate it by all the means which are in my power, I have consecrated my life to justice, to truth; I shall be faithful to them.

“ I remain at my post till death, if I am useful and am thought so. I demand my dismissal, and I shall resign, if any one is found who can occupy it better; or if the silence of the laws forbids all action.

“ *The Minister of the Interior,*

“ ROLAND.”

The National Assembly ordered this letter to be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments.

At

At the same time the same minister sent to the National Assembly a copy of the following address to the French people :

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY.

“ Worthy portion of society, inhabitants of the country, a great danger menaces your habitations. Robbers, devoted to ravage, advance upon you, with fire and sword. Are your harvests, the fruits of your laborious industry, to be the prey of cruel foreigners ! Educated to the profession of arms, for the purpose of becoming instruments of ferocity to the despots, by whom they are enslaved, do not expect from them any sentiment of humanity ; if that sentiment was not entirely effaced from their hearts, would they come to combat a generous people, who demand for them, and for all men, but liberty and equality ? We shall doubtless resist their attacks. Does not the nation now rush into union for the purpose of opposing this torrent of barbarians ? Who can calculate events ? We shall conquer, we shall in the end exterminate this sanguinary hord ; but it must not be concealed, that we shall obtain this end only by the greatest efforts of our courage, by the closest union of concord and fraternity, and by a concourse of prudence, of precautions, and of activity.

“ Two important objects ought essentially to engage us ; *our defence and our subsistence*. For the first, it is necessary, that all those brave citizens, who pant to fly upon the common enemy, should be armed. For the other, it is necessary to place in security those valuable articles, which are necessary to our existence. It is to this, that I invite and press you ; you, especially, inhabitants of the country, whose riches are exposed to become, at every moment, the prey of flames and pillage.— Hasten to realize your harvests ; to beat and transport into your grain, either into Paris, or into the other towns of the interior of the empire ; that there each of you may have a spot, where he may deposit, under the national guarantee and faith, his corn, his beasts, and whatever he would preserve from foreign incursions ; and if the public want, which is, however, not to be soon dreaded, shall make it necessary to draw them from these depositaries, it can be only on the condition of paying for them immediately, and at the highest current price.

“ In this invitation, I acknowledge my solicitude for you, brave inhabitants of the country, and the desire, which embraces me, of deserving the confidence of a generous nation, to which I am devoted until death.

“ *The Minister of the Interior, ROLAND.*”
A decree

A decree was passed, that all persons condemned to corporal punishments, before the institution of trial by jury, and still alive, should have new trials.

The students of surgery presented a gift of 2,044 livres, and offered to join the army, as an independent company, or to serve as surgeons.

M. Regnault-Peaucaron read a letter, stating, that all the departments of what was formerly the province of Champagne, were arming with the utmost dispatch; and that the department of Aube alone would send 12,000 men in the field.

Decreed, that the gold and silver in the royal palaces, and the houses of the emigrants, be sent immediately to the nearest mint.

A letter from the commissioners sent to the department of Seine and Marne, and the neighbouring departments, stated, that they found the citizens every where ready to arm, to furnish horses, carts, and money for the public defence; that the women gave up their jewels; and that in the city of Amiens, they had received patriotic gifts to the amount of 60,000 livres in two hours.

A letter from the commissioners to the department was equally flattering. At Versailles they received gifts to the amount of 64,000 livres.

A letter from the commissioners to the army of the centre, dated Metz, August 29, stated; that their mission, as far as respected the events of the 10th of August, was entirely at an end. Both the people and the troops had now but one opinion respecting them. The arrival of general Kellerman, and his junction with marshal Luckner, had carried the confidence of the army and the citizens to the highest pitch, and alarmed the enemy. The enemy presented themselves before Thionville, in expectation that it would surrender; general Wimpfen received them with a cannonade, made a vigorous sally, and repulsed them. Marshal Luckner had given the highest proofs of honour and patriotism even before the arrival of the commissioners; as an instance, on the news of the 10th, the hussars of Berchini retired to Bitche; the marshal wrote to the colonel, "In the name of the nation, I order you to evacuate Bitche, and rejoin the camp; the colonel refused, alledging the suspension of the King; the marshal wrote a second letter, "If you refuse to obey the National Assembly, I march against you, and send you to Orleans." The commissioners recommended that the assembly should bestow a mark of their satisfaction on the marshal as a reparation for the unjust suspicions that had been entertained of him.

September 4.

The assembly charged the community of Paris to protect the

Abbé Sicard, instructor of deaf and dumb, who was arrested without any proper reason.

M. Dalbon, commandant of Sainte Menchould, wrote, complaining that 10,000 men had been sent to him without arms—"We do not want courage, said he, but arms."

M. Chabot said, that as reports had been spread that the National Assembly meant to re-establish Louis XVI. on the throne of France; or to place on it the Duke of York or the Duke of Brunswick; and, that as these reports were propagated with a view to make the National Assembly unpopular, it was necessary to contradict them in a public manner. "Let us swear," said he, "that we abhor the doctrine ascribed to us, and let us declare, that we have suffered so much already from the vices of Kings, and from royalty, that we hold them in detestation."

The whole assembly then rose, and took the oath proposed by M. Chabot.

M. Dubaet—"Let us swear that no foreigner shall ever give laws to France."

M. Lariviere—"Let us swear that no King—no monarch shall ever be a stain upon our liberty."

The assembly again rose, and, with their hands raised up, took both the proposed oaths.

M. Guadet said, the extraordinary commission had prepared an address on this subject, which was read and voted.

ADDRESS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE FRENCH CITIZENS.

"It is by falsehoods that perjured Frenchmen have excited against their country the arms of Austria and Prussia—it was by dint of falsehoods that a treacherous court concealed the silent destruction, or, the perfidious destination of the means provided by your representatives for the defence of the frontiers—it is also by employing falsehood, that those of your enemies, who are still in the midst of you, hope to mislead your patriotism, or to cool your valour, and to spread among you discouragement or distrust.

"They have said to those whom they wished to irritate, that the National Assembly was preparing to re-establish Louis XVI. They have said to those whose resistance to the soldiers of tyranny they wished to discourage, that the National Assembly had a plan for raising to the throne a foreign prince, the very general of the enemy's armies, the Duke of Brunswick, the declared foe of the sovereignty of the people, and the liberty of the human race. Citizens, your representatives have proved to you, that

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they would have no power that was not conferred upon them by the people. They have called a national convention, and that alone can declare what form of government is fitted for a nation that will be free, but which will not be so, but under the law of entire equality. Would they usurp an illegal power, after having scrupulously confined themselves within the limits prescribed by the constitution, at a moment when extraordinary circumstances might have afforded them an excuse.

"Will it be said, that they would endeavour to justify themselves by the plea of necessity? No.—In swearing to die at their post, or to maintain the rights of the people, they have sworn not to disgrace by marks of baseness the last moments of their existence. They will act up to the full extent of their oath; and they would take that which those unworthy calumnies seem to require of them, if respect for the assembly, charged by the people, to declare the national will; if respect for the people themselves, to whom it belongs to accept or refuse the constitution offered to them, could permit them to anticipate by a resolution of their own, what they expect from the French nation, from its courage, from its love of liberty.—But this oath, which they cannot take as representatives of the people, they take as citizens and as individuals; the oath to combat with all their strength kings and royalty."

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE PARISIAN NATIONAL GUARD.

Sept. 4, fourth year of Liberty.

"In the name of the nation, and by order of the National Assembly and of the executive power, I enjoin you, Sir, to employ all the force, which the law has committed to your hands; to prevent the safety of persons and of effects from being violated; and I refer to your responsibility all attempts upon any citizen whatever in the city of Paris. I send you a copy of the law, which commits you the circumspection and the safety, which I recommend, and I inform the National Assembly and the mayor of Paris of the orders which I submit to you."

ANSWER OF THE COMMANDANT.

"SIR, THE MINISTER,

"I, this instant, receive your letter, which summons me in the name of the law, to watch over the safety of the citizens; you renew the wounds, with which my heart is already afflicted by information every moment received of the violation of these laws,

laws, and of the excesses which prevail. I have the honour to represent to you, that, upon the first intelligence of the people being at the prisons, I gave the most precise orders to the commandants of battalions to form numerous patrols, and to the commandants at the Temple, and the places adjoining the residence of the King, and at the Hotel de la Force, to whom I recommended that prison, which was then attacked.

"I am about to redouble my efforts with the national guard, and I swear to you, that, if they remain inactive, my body shall serve as a buckler for the first citizen likely to be insulted."

September 5.

M. Petion appeared before the National Assembly, and declared that all Paris was in a state of perfect tranquillity.

A letter from the minister at war stated, that since yesterday he had heard nothing of importance from the army.

A letter from the commissioners to the army of the Rhine, stated, that from Landau to Besançon they had found the people in the best disposition, but all the fortified places very much out of repair by the former neglect of the executive power.

Large bodies of armed men continued to appear daily, and almost hourly, before the National Assembly, and then to march off to reinforce the armies on the frontiers.

September 6.

The following account of the capitulation of Verdun was read:

"Summoned on the 31st of August by M. de Brunswick, the defensive council of this town answered that they could not surrender a place, the defence of which had been entrusted to them by the King, and whose loyalty he must certainly believe. Then basely flattering M. Brunswick, the council thus finished their answer—We hope to obtain thereby the esteem of the illustrious general, whom we have the honour to oppose.

"On the 1st of September, M. de Brunswick wrote to the defensive-council of Verdun, that he would grant the garrison a respite, to preserve the town from a general devastation, and leave the inhabitants time to reflect on the capitulation which he offered them, viz. liberty to the garrison to retire with arms and baggage within the space of twenty-four hours.

"Sunday, the 2d, the command of the place being vacant by the unexpected death of M. Beaurepaire, who blew out his brains in full council, when he saw, that forced by the inhabitants to surrender the place, he could no longer defend himself honourably,

ably*, the defensive-council, and afterwards the administrative body, "considering that the place had now no longer any means of defence, that the enemy, from his position, continually bombarding the town, would burn all the houses, while the gunners could do no active service, having but one man to a gun; considering that it was more advantageous to the French nation to preserve a garrison of three thousand five hundred men, who, according to the capitulation offered, might leave the place with all the honours of war; considering also the state of despair, which the inhabitants of the town were in to see the quarter part of their houses burnt; and who demanded to capitulate, have, from these, and several other motives mentioned in their resolve, consented to, and accepted the capitulation, of which this is an exact copy. M. Nyont, the now commandant of the place having written to the Duke of Brunswick to that effect."

COPY OF THE CAPITULATION.

"The sentiments of humanity and generosity which animate his Prussian Majesty, have induced him to prefer gentle means to the evils of war, and wishing to spare the inhabitants of Verdun from the misfortunes of an attack, made by order of his Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick, marshal-general and commander of the armies of his Majesty, the undersigned grants to the commandant of the said town of Verdun, the following conditions:

"1. The garrison, meaning all the troops which compose it without exception, shall go out of the gate of France, in such numbers as they choose, with arms and baggage, and shall retire from the place to such stations as they desire to go. Prussian conductors shall guarantee them from all insult whatever.

"2. Those who choose to go out by the Causeway-gate, or St. Victor, shall also have permission, and be under the protection of his Prussian Majesty, as far as Metz.

"3. Carriages shall be afforded gratis to the garrison, as far as the first station which they shall have chosen: If they prefer the waggons of the King, they shall be granted on condition of their being sent back from Clermont, or from any first sta-

* The commandant of Verdun died thus: He wished to defend the place to the last moment. The inhabitants, who perceived, or feared, that the immense slaughter which had been made, was useless, and, that finally, the Prussians would carry the place, assembled in large bodies, and demanded a surrender. He harangued them for some time with all his force; finding, at length, that they were obstinate, and that the soldiers would even be attacked on both sides—he drew a pistol from his pocket, and shot himself dead in their presence.

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tion whence they may be returned by the carriages of the country.

" 4. All the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood are from this moment under the protection of his Prussian Majesty, on condition that they deliver up the arms of the State, colours, and ammunition.

" 5. The council of war shall give to a Prussian officer, deputed for that purpose, a state of the magazines, and every thing belonging to them, as they are at this time.

" 6. The officer of artillery shall give a statement of the artillery and ammunition.

" 7. The officers of the garrison who will pass this way as private persons to return home, shall have permission; the officers and troops which cannot set off to-day, and do not depart till to-morrow, shall be under the special protection of his Majesty; if the garrison passes through a gate occupied by the Prussians, they shall pass till the day after to-morrow, on the conditions of the capitulation, and if any of the members of the garrison return as private persons, they shall be treated as such.

" *At Verdun, September 2, 1792.*

" KALKERETH.

" I, the undersigned, certify the authenticity of the above pieces, &c. &c.

" *Chalons, September 4, 1792.*

" *The commandant of Mayenne and Loire,*

" L. LEMOINE."

M. Ducos moved, that a monument might be erected in the Pantheon, to the honour of the brave commander of Verdun, who shot himself in the council, when he found that the garrison was determined to capitulate. The whole of this affair was referred for examination to the extraordinary commission.

The administrators of the department of the Meuse transmitted a copy of the King of Prussia's orders to them to repair to Verdun on the 5th, to regulate the affairs of the department, on pain of death in case of disobedience.

The following are copies of two orders issued by them:

" We enjoin M. Gollin, procureur-general syndic of the department of the Meuse, to repair to-morrow, at three o'clock precisely, to us at Verdun, to regulate the affairs of his department, and this upon pain of being prosecuted for failure, in his person and effects.

" *Done at Verdun, September 3, 1792.*

(Signed)

" FREDERIC.

" FERDINAND."

We

“ We enjoin M. the President of the department of the Meuse, to repair to us at Verdun to-morrow, at three o'clock precisely, to regulate the affairs of his departments, and this upon pain of being prosecuted for failure in his person and effects.

“ *Done at Verdun, September 3.*

(Signed)

“ FREDERIC.

“ FERDINAND.”

The administrators of the department sitting at Bar le Duc, sent copies of these orders to the National Assembly, and state, that after consulting with the district and the community of Bar, they had been under the necessity of obeying it.

The Prussian general also ordered the receiver-general of the department of Moselle to come before him, and render an account of his receipts. This the receiver did, and the whole being audited, and the sum in his hand paid—the Prussian general gave him an acquittance in the following terms—“ Received for, and in the name of the French people, and of Louis XVI. King of the French, such a sum, being the amount of the taxes received from such a time to such a time, according to the decrees of the National Assembly, and for this sum I grant a complete acquittance in the name of the French nation and the King.”—A notorial copy of this receipt he directed to be sent up to the general Bureau at Paris.

After this, the same general directed the president of the department to convene the primary assemblies, according to the regulations of the constitutions as accepted by the King (and not according to the new rules), and then to proceed forthwith to the election of deputies to the national convention.

These two facts, open more plainly than a thousand rumours the true situation of the invading despots. They have completely changed their course. Instead of the devastation and carnage which they threatened to spread on every hand, which was the language of that diabolical Manifesto, that has produced on the other side so much butchery, they now practise the most conciliatory methods, and hold out the establishment of the constitution, as accepted by the King in September, 1791.

LUXEMBOURG, Sept. 2.

General Clairfait is at Montmedy, but will not besiege it. The gunners have broke the commandant of that place, M. de Ligneville, and chose one of their officers for governor. They refuse to listen to any proposals to surrender. All eyes are fixed on Thionville, surrounded by the army of Prince de Hohenloe, and part of the army of the French emigrants. The garrison

is strong, and the town well stocked with provisions. The citizens of this place also, in concert with the garrison, have deposed the governor, and elected one of their own choosing, who is a staunch friend to the reigning party, and has sworn to defend the town to the last; hitherto he has kept his word, and the Imperialists have lost 500 men in erecting one battery, in consequence of which General Querelonde, a very skilful engineer, is gone to direct the siege. On the 30th the besieged made a sally, and destroyed eight batteries which were ready to play; but our troops suffer most from a floating battery. The approaches to the town are impracticable, on account of the large sluices with which they inundate the environs. General Querelonde has caused some large batteries to be built of 24 pounders; they are on the heights of Guntrange, and are to play red-hot balls on the town. A large floating battery which had been constructed with great art and expence, has been sunk by the garrison as soon as it came within reach of their cannon. The siege commenced on the 24th of August. The following is the answer given by General Felix Wimpfen, Governor of Thionville, to the Duke of Brunswick's summons to surrender the town:—
 "You may, by means of your bombs and red hot balls, destroy the houses and inhabitants of Thionville; but there are two things which they will not be able to do, viz. either to burn the ramparts, or make my brave garrison be guilty of a dastardly act."

On the second day of September the following ordonnance was issued at Brussels, in the name of the Emperor:

"All ambassadors and magistrates are forbidden to deliver passports to Frenchmen for entering the Austrian territory.

"All subjects of the Emperor are forbidden to trade with the French, or to send them money.

"Orders are given to shut all the passages by which communication may be held with France.

"Every French traveller is in future to be considered as a spy, and treated accordingly."

HAGUE, *Sept.* 4.

After long deliberation, the States-General have formally decided that the Republic will not take an active part in the war against France. This resolution was carried only by a small majority in the particular State of the province of Holland; but the weight of that province will have an influence over the other six.

Lord Auckland, the English ambassador, we learn, has communicated officially to the States-General, "That his Britannick Majesty

Majesty has been informed of the resolution of their High Mightinesses to break off all ministerial communication with M. Maulde, that the principles of the King are perfectly consonant with the motives which occasioned the said revolution of their High Mightinesses; and that in consequence his Majesty has given orders to his ministry to observe the same conduct with regard to M. Chauvelin at London."

LEYDEN, *September 11.*

M. de la Fayette has published in our Gazette the following address to the army lately commanded by him.

"At a time, when, after having concurred in two great revolutions, I enjoyed in retirement the success of my constant efforts for the cause of the people, the dangers of the country snatched me from a private life; I came, in the midst of the applauses of the nation, to command the army, which the King had intrusted to me; and the National Assembly deigned, by the organ of the president, to say to me 'We oppose to the enemies coalesced against us, the constitution, and La Fayette.' Since this period, you have had the means of judging me. Your confidence shewed me that you approved my conduct; your friendship answered to the tender attachment which I had vowed to you. Happy to defend, in the midst of soldiers, dear to my heart the principles, to which my whole life has been consecrated, and the constitution, which the national sovereignty gave us, I found in this resistance of a free people to say many efforts re-united against them, every thing that could satisfy my opinions, and animate my zeal.

"You will remember, I fear, with uneasiness, that a turbulent faction, whose movements appeared to me to correspond with those of our exterior enemies, endeavoured to deprive us of that, which makes the force of free people, respect for the laws and fidelity to the constitution, which in this moment seemed to me to be our only point for rallying. My conduct was known to, and my opinions were shared by you. My frankness animated more and more against me all the enemies of the constitution; but, whatever were their efforts and their menaces, the National Assembly, by a majority of two-thirds, repulsed their absurd accusations heaped up against me. You know the violences offered, the next day, to the National Assembly; those exercised, on the 10th of August, against the King; the state of Paris at the moment when the suspension of the King was decreed; the murders, the proscriptions, which took place, not only during the battle at the Tuilleries, but even during the following days. I refer in this respect to the decrees of the department of Ardennes, and of the municipality of Sedan, and to the few
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accounts, which were suffered to pass, while all the papers, devoted to the Jacobin party, were circulated with profusion. It was evident, that the measures taken, on the 10th of August, were contrary to the constitution act, and that they were forced from the National Assembly. This conviction guided my conduct. The administrative bodies and the municipalities required you to renew the civic oath; the constitution has determined this oath, and ordered you to obey the requisitions of the constituted authorities. It was with regret, that I saw a part of the army so far from the fulfilment of this duty, that I would have spared them the evil of refusing it. The pains taken to calumniate me in your opinion, have succeeded so far as to alienate a part of your confidence. On the other side, the commissioners of the National Assembly, who had accepted, on the 10th of August, the execution of the decrees, which violence had snatched from them, deprived me of part of my command from Dunkirk to Maubéuge; and they proposed equally to destitute me of that, which united me to you and to renew against me those accusations, which neither the assembly, the juries, or the judges, were any longer free to decide upon in the state, to which violence had reduced them.

“ In these circumstances, and when the present faction directs itself principally against the authors of the revolution, against the true friends of the constitution, I ceased to be destined to fight at your head, and I could no longer hope for an useful death. What remained for me to do? To remove from you a general, whom you would be forbidden to obey, and to preserve to liberty a defender, whose inflexibility has merited for him, in this moment, the honour of being proscribed. I separate myself, therefore, from you; I separate myself with a sentiment of grief, which it is, at least, sweet to pour into the bosoms of those of my companions in arms, who have preserved for me their affection. I took, before setting out, all the measures which could answer to me for your safety; and I go far from my country, where a party reigns which proscribes me, far from the enemies coalesced against us, and whom I hoped to combat at your head, to taste, in my retreat, the consolation of a pure conscience, and to form ardent wishes for the triumph of French Liberty over all the factions which seek to enslave it.

Signed,

“ LA FAYETTE.”

This address was certified to the editor of the Leyden Gazette, by six officers of M. de la Fayette's late *État Major* who left France with him, but who have been released from the prisons at Luxembourg. He is still in that fortress with

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M. M. La Tour Maubourg, Alexander Lameth, and Bureau Puzy, who appear to be distinguished by this rigour, on account of their having been members of the Constituent National Assembly of France. In their journey from Nivelles to Luxembourg, an Austrian officer sat in the carriage with each person, and thirty hussars escorted the party.

The other prisoners remain for further orders, either at Nivelles, or Luxembourg.

Before Monsieur with the other French princes and emigrants of France who submitted to follow in the rear of the Prussian army entered France, there was circulated among the troops of his camp, the following printed speech in his name :

THE SPEECH OF MONSIEUR TO THE EMIGRANTS IN HIS TRAIN.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ To-morrow we shall enter France. From that, the operations entrusted to us will necessarily take their colour, and our conduct may fix the fate of France.

“ You are not ignorant of the calumnies unceasingly heaped upon you by our enemies, and the pains they take to circulate, that we re-enter our country for no purpose, but to subject it to our private revenge.

“ It is by our conduct, gentlemen; it is by the cordiality with which we shall receive the deluded who may throw themselves into our arms, that we shall prove to all Europe that the French Noblesse, more illustrious than ever by their misfortunes and their constancy, know how to conquer their enemies, and to forgive the errors of their countrymen.

“ The powers committed to us, would give us a right to exact whatever our interest and our glory might suggest; but we speak to French gentlemen, and their hearts, full of true honour, will never forget the duties which this noble sentiment imposes.”

August 28.

About the same time the following address from the French national armies, to the soldiers in the combined armies invading France, printed in the German language, was circulated throughout the Prussian and Austrian camps.

TO THE PRIVATE SOLDIERS IN THE ARMIES OF THE CONFEDERATE KINGS.

“ Brave but mistaken men, what is the cause in which you are engaged; have you considered? Are you insensible to the wrongs you have yourselves endured, and still endure; and will you draw your swords purposely to insure the continuance of them to yourselves, and to entail them on your children? Have you

you no desire to enjoy blessings which ought to be common to all, but which are denied to millions, and among the rest to you? Can you forget that you have been torn from your families and friends by tyranny, or forced into your present profession by want, which was the consequence of tyranny? And what is that profession? Consider well, and suffer truth to be heard. Is it not murder—nay, the wickedest of murder? It is no vulgar blood you are called upon to spill, but the blood of men, or rather of heroes, who devote themselves for you, for their country, and the human race. What quarrel have you with them? They wish to embrace you like brothers. If you fall they will weep over you; for you will fall mistaken, dishonoured, and alas! accursed. If they fall themselves, their surviving companions will glory in their virtue, embrace them in death, and mingle songs of triumph with their tears. You cannot hope to vanquish men like these; they have no fear except of being enslaved; they combat as much for your freedom as their own.

“Have you know sense of the blows you have received, and the insults which for years you have daily endured? Are you not men? can you not feel? are you in love with lashes, imprisonments, and executions? You know what despotism is, for it has been exercised upon you in all its rigour. The day of relief is come; and will you blindly sacrifice your lives to protract your sufferings? You are in chains; and will you slaughter those who kindly come to break away your shackles? Once again, beware; lay the hand to the heart; do not stain your souls with the blood of your best and dearest friends. You have men who call themselves your commanders, and their commands are, that you should be guilty of the most horrid and hateful crimes; but you cannot be so senseless as to be ignorant either of your duty or your power; your numbers to theirs are as twenty to one; and dare you stand to be shot in the field, yet dastardly tremble, and obey these engines of injustice! Think for yourselves; be men, and not the brutal herd these tyrants would make you.”

PARIS, Sept. 12.

The following is a correct return of the numbers of volunteers, completely armed, furnished by the capital and neighbouring districts, and already sent off to the camp at Chalons:

From Sept. 3 to Sept. 9, both days included, 9884 were raised by the city of Paris, and sent off by 2000 per day.

Verfailles has furnished 5000, armed in a superior stile.

The district of Soissons 10,000, and 50 pieces of cannon.

The municipalities of the department of Paris 5000.

H h h 2

It

It was expected, that, by the 26th, the single department of Paris would have on the Frontier 84,000 men.

That a people threatened with the violence of two hundred thousand slaves, and suffering by daily treacheries, should, in their present danger, be often turbulent, might be expected; but it is dreadful, that their turbulence frequently proceeds to the most sanguinary extremes.

The national prisoners at Orleans, were ordered, for their safety, to be removed to Saumur. The silly people, who had the execution of this order, ventured to think, that they would be safer elsewhere, and accordingly, on Saturday, the 8th of September brought them to Versailles. The inhabitants of this place, where despotism is much hated from having been much seen, threatened the unhappy prisoners, who were in a large waggon, upon their first arrival in the Place d'Armes. The guards were able to protect them, but upon their passing through the Gate de l'Orangerie, the populace prevailed, and of fifty-four prisoners, the greater part were murdered. In the department of Calvados also there has been a tumult, in which the people rose upon the aristocrats, and several of the latter perished.

These excesses require a few observations; It is very absurd to estimate the character of the French People, or the merits of the French revolution, from a few acts of violence. These violences are the effects of intemperate defence, to which a people have recourse, who are suffering by the attacks or the threats of all the despots in Europe, at the same time that discoveries of internal treason are daily made, from which it appears, that those, who were paid to watch over their liberties, applied their money and their power chiefly to the purpose of destroying them. To expect, that a people so harrassed and endangered should confine their first efforts entirely within the bounds of justice, is to demand a sort of perfection desirable indeed, if possible, but which no man, who knows the world, would, in any other instance, talk of.

On the other hand, observe the conduct of the French people to the King, whom they had conquered. He was the representative of a race, whose many vices had impoverished and depopulated the nation; he was himself the squanderer of many hundred millions, and certainly had not the capacity to serve them, if he had enjoyed the will. They restored him to the throne, gave to him and his family fourteen hundred thousand pounds annually, and loved him at first, as if, instead of having drawn troops round Paris, for the purpose of subduing them at any expence of blood, he had been himself the author of the revolution. It is notorious, that he was, once since the revolution, the most popular man in Paris. To his
oaths

Oaths and tears, voluntarily offered in the National Assembly, the people replied by their confidence and their affection, as unwarily as if they had never heard of a court.

They were disposed to love him, and they did so, at first, in spite of events. At length, came his flight, contrary to his voluntary oath, to Varennes; then the armaments of his brothers, which it was thought, could not be continued against his will; some *Vetos*; next the collecting of 10,000 armed persons, whom the people conquered in the Thuilleries; and lastly, the discovery, that, during all the proclamations against the emigrants, three companies of the Gardes du Corps were supported by him at Coblenz, as well as many thousand concealed persons in Paris. The French now no longer profess to love Louis XVI. but, till their affection was removed by fears, which have been since justified, even the conquered King of the 14th of July, 1789, had the tenderness, if not the respect, of 25,000,000 of a sovereign people.

FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT
PARIS, ON THE TENTH OF AUGUST, 1792. BY A
GENTLEMAN, WHO WAS A SPECTATOR.

Some of the French King's satellites give out, that since he has been confined in the Temple he has repented of his former misconduct. If this were true which it most probably is not (being circulated with a view of creating divisions amongst the people, at the moment that unanimity is most necessary,) the circumstance is not a matter deserving of national consideration. Repentance comes too late. The public safety cannot hereafter be entrusted to him. Confidence can never again be reposed in him. To remove all possible doubt as to the King's consummate treasons, it is only necessary to refer to the papers found in the apartment of Mons. La Porte, steward of the civil list, and in the King's private cabinet, on or subsequent to the 10th of August. Amongst the former, were found memorandums of money given, in order to depreciate the assignats, of sums paid to hiring pamphleteers for libels against the constitution, and for other equally *patriotic* purposes, and among his Majesty's papers were found letters and bills transmitted to him from Coblenz, through the agency of the Prince de Poix; these letters and bills were sent from the above place, to obtain from the king, at different periods, the pay for his body guard, established there. The result therefore is evident. While Louis XVI. was amusing his countrymen with oaths of affection and loyalty in the cause

cause of freedom, he had his body guards enrolled amongst the emigrants at Coblenz, payed by himself, from that civil list which the nation had given to him, at the very hour when his life was forfeited, and the receipts prove the employ and payment of those rebels, while he was almost daily renewing his oaths of fidelity to the constitution. Numberless other papers were found in the king's cabinet, and produced before the National Assembly, which incontrovertibly demonstrate him the enemy of the people; and the committee of inspection have in their possession still more proofs of unexampled perfidy, that in the present ferment they judge prudent not to publish. It must be remembered, also, that this *virtuous patriotic* king borrowed of the bankers in Paris, and other persons, 160,000,000, which the royal creditors will assuredly lose, all devoted to the same purposes. Let virtue and candour decide, if a purjured wretch, like this, is fit to govern?

Antecedent to the revolution, the revolting excesses of a profligate unfeeling court, where the people's sufferings never excited a sigh of compassion, nor a moment's reflection, had greatly abated their mania for royalty. Since the above period, the horror, in which they held the memory of all those persecutions, that so long had goaded them,—a most ungrateful abuse of their long patience and fond credulity, and the imminent dangers to which they were in consequence exposed, had eradicated their prepossessions, and entirely alienated their affections from the Grand Monarque. Not a vestige of monarchy is now to be perceived in the capital of France, all its magnificent emblems and trophies are demolished, in virtue of a decree, passed by the National Assembly. When a people once discover the truth, they are naturally more attached to its principles than they were before to their prejudices. The national character has undergone a revolution no less sudden and complete than that of their government, and if Louis XVI. was so rooted in the love of arbitrary power, that he could not submit to the loss of it;—if the claims of liberty could not cleanse his bosom of the lust of despotism;—if his soul was insensible to far purer joys, nor could feel more exquisite delight in being the king of 25,000,000 of freemen, than in being the tyrant over so many millions of slaves;—in the critical hour of danger, when the royal Brigands had let loose their blood-hounds, threatening to lay waste his country and devour its inhabitants, since he again swerved from that text, which he had so often and so lately *unsolicited*, sworn in the presence of God and man to confirm, after such repeated notorious instances of hypocrisy, it required no præternatural gift of penetration

penetration to foretell, that whatever in other respects the catastrophe might be, it must at all events be fatal to him.

Justice is slow to execute, where a monarch is the victim, and the vengeance which hovered round him, might have been averted, instead of cherishing in his bosom serpents, that by their poisonous flattery were enticing him to destruction; he should have banished them for ever from his presence, and have admitted no persons to his counsels, but such, whose regard and loyalty to the constitution had been tried, and whose principles left no room for doubt or apprehension. Thus he would have removed every ground of suspicion, cut up the root of civil discord, destroyed all pretence for opposition in foreign powers;—confidence and unanimity might have been restored, and another example of perfidiousness and barbarity, that displayed itself on the 10th of August,—a dreadful counterpart of the massacre de St. Barthelemy, would have been spared to humanity; but unable to forsake that system of treacherous policy which he had adopted, and which, by long and constant practice, was rooted in his character, flattered and encouraged in the most sanguinary projects, by those about him, who would never suffer his weak unhappy mind to rest,—his hypocrisy revealed,—all his schemes for a counter-revolution discovered, he resolved to make one desperate effort, to restore the throne to its ancient despotism, or at least to establish it on principles equally favourable to his own arbitrary purposes;—an effort, whether successful or not, that must necessarily imbrue the city of Paris in blood.

We deprecate the cruel sentiment of triumphing over fallen grandeur. Let us, however, still be just, and rescue a generous nation struggling in the universal cause of mankind, surrounded by perjured traitors at home,—the combined force of armed tyrants hovering over their frontiers, all the Leviathans of the earth conspiring against them,—their companions, friends, and relations, victims of royal treachery, butchered in their sight, dreading a relapse into their ancient horrors, after having indulged the flattering dreams of liberty, and the cruelties, in case of a defeat, that were destined for them*. Let us, who witnessed the scene, vindicate their conduct, and briefly and impartially

* From the deposition made before the committee of inspection by several Swiss soldiers who had escaped from the rage of the people, it appeared, that in case of success, they had been promised permission to plunder the city;—that an increase of pay and vast quantities of liquor had been given to them during the night, in order to stimulate their cruelty; and it is very well known, that above 11,000 victims were marked out for immediate execution.—The rage of the people, scarcely survived their victory.—On the succeeding day, a perfect calm and tranquility reigned in Paris.

state,

state some few of the innumerable outrages, which roused them to resistance, and provoked their revenge.

The complicated wickedness of the court had reached its climax. The King, a perjured traitor, convicted of violating the oaths of allegiance he had sworn to the constitution, at once absolved the people from every obligation of allegiance to him: Their indignation could no longer be suppressed, and a bold decisive stroke was to terminate that war, which the chief magistrate had never ceased to wage against those to whose magnanimity he owed both his crown and life. The citizens had been long prepared, and openly avowed their resolution, while the court satellites had also completed their preparations, under the mysterious secrecy and gloom of their strongly fortified castle. At the dead of night the alarm bell was heard in every quarter; at this signal the legislative body assembled, and were informed, that the mayor of Paris, who, with his wonted zeal and humanity, was exerting all his power to avert the threatening storm, was forcibly detained at the palace, under pretence of serving as a hostage to protect it against popular fury, and his life was the devoted sacrifice, if the National Assembly had not sent a deputation to demand their virtuous and beloved magistrate. The patriotism and vigilance of the citizens kept pace with the dark conspiracy and manœuvres of the royalists. At day break the King had reviewed the Swiss troops and his own guard, between the Caroussel and the palace, in the great court, and a prodigious multitude flocked to their representatives, to communicate their terrors and apprehensions. They considered the castle of the Tuilleries as the focus of a counter-revolution; it appeared to them as another Coblenz; they recalled to mind the infamous evasion of the executive power—the perfidious manner in which the most salutary laws, decreed by the National Assembly, and sanctioned by himself, had been frustrated—the vile stratagems that had been played off, to disaffect the army—the dismantled state of the frontier towns, with a view to facilitate the enemy's passage—the total want of arms, accoutrements, provisions, and every article necessary to the subsistence and equipment of a soldier, in the camp at Soissons, with the hope that it would prevent the volunteers from engaging. If, therefore, from such multiplied appearances of deceit and provocation, they were resolved to chastise their enemies, they were driven to the necessity of so doing.

Their energy of action was equal to their energy of sentiment, and they saved their country. After the troops had been reviewed, and his fatal orders given, conscious of the dreadful scene that was to succeed, with that frigid caution peculiar to traiterous cowardice, a minion of the court was dispatched to the

the National Assembly, imploring a sanctuary for his master, which he had no right to expect from those, whose clemency and indulgence he had so often abused; nevertheless, the senate still persisted in their wonted generosity, and made the confidence which they possessed serve him as a rampart of defence, instead of that favour and affection which he had lost.

While the representatives of the nation were anxiously employed in concerting measures for the monarch's safety, the heroes of Marseilles, accompanied by the volunteers from the different departments of the kingdom, surrounded the avenues of the palace, and of the National Assembly. An immense multitude loudly demanded justice on thirty traitors with concealed weapons of every description found upon them, who had been seized during the night as patrols of the national guard: Their demand was unnecessary. They had been immediately conducted before a magistrate, and legally examined, when their guilt being manifest*, nine of them were delivered up to the fury of the people, and summary justice executed upon them; an example to their enemies, that if their patience had been long, their vengeance was severe.

Terrified by these acts of strict and necessary justice, diffident of the courage of his friends, from the badness of their cause, he and his family fled in haste to the asylum they had implored. At first he placed himself near the president's chair, but was obliged to change his situation, as the law did not authorise the senate to debate in the monarch's presence, and he repaired to a box appropriated to one of the reporters of the debates. Such was the crisis, when ten commissioners were dispatched to endeavour to tranquillize the people. At this period, both sides were drawn up in order of battle. The Swiss troops, many of the national guards, and several agents of the court, disguised as such, were in possession of the palace. Different detachments from the Parisian volunteers, citizens armed with pikes, the heroes of Marseilles, and their fellow-foldiers from the various provinces, had formed a line in front of the royal castle. They knew that it was lined with troops, and they trembled for their representatives, on account of their proximity to the seat of action, they therefore wished to make themselves masters of the palace; but it cannot be reproached against them, that they had any design upon the life of the King, or that of his family, since they were no strangers to their being under the sanctuary of the law at the National Assembly. The royal garrison had at first refused to surrender; it was prepared for defence. Ne-

* This false patrol was wholly composed of creatures of the court, in the particular favour and confidence of the Queen,

vertheless, the gates at length flew open: The Swifs laid down their arms, testifying every mark of joy and satisfaction. The people, led on by the Marfeilles volunteers, encouraged by these tokens of friendship, ran to embrace them, when they were in an instant laid low by a dreadful discharge of cannon, and two hundred men were killed. This atrocious perfidy roused the fury of the patriots, and gave birth to those prodigies of valour and a contempt of death, which perhaps were never equalled in the most heroic ages. The combat was dreadful. On each side a constant fire of two hours was kept up; the mercenary troops displaying more address and military skill, the patriots more ardour and enthusiasm. At length justice triumphed, the castle was forced, and a cruel slaughter ensued.

In the midst of all these horrors, the legislative body displayed more than Spartan virtue. The cannon that pelted against their walls never interrupted their debates. Every member joined in the triumphant cry of Liberty and Equality! and with uplifted arms to Heaven, unanimously swore to die or save their country.

They continued to debate for the public safety. They did not imitate our scrupulous, conscientious parliament, which after the rebellion in 1715, under pretence of avoiding the confusion and disorder that might attend a general election, at a period when party spirit was so violent, arrogated to themselves the unconstitutional power of protracting their existence from three to seven years, without consent of their electors, who had delegated the trust only for the former term; and which afterwards, when perfect tranquillity was restored, still preserved the power they had usurped. The French assembly, in the actual crisis, adopted a direct contrary system, and, after stating the necessity which the public safety extorted of annulling the royal functions, immediately decreed the plan of a national convention, thereby voluntarily dissolving their own body many months before the time fixed for their dissolution; they generously extended the right of suffrages, and appealed to the people, in vindication of the motives that had directed their conduct.

After the victory, a multitude of citizens, whom an insolent, unfeeling aristocracy, in scornful contempt, had denominated *sansculottes**, which will hereafter be a term of honourable dis-

* We have no word in the English language that literally explains the signification of *sansculottes*; but it was an aristocratic term of brutal reproach, applied in derision to the wants and miseries of our fellow creatures, which with every mind but that of an aristocrat, instead of insult, would have entitled them to compassion and relief. *Sansculottes* may be literally applied, with equal propriety, to the lower classes of the inhabitants of North Britain, where breeches are dispensed with.

unction, justly due to those who so bravely contributed to save the lives and liberties of their countrymen, brought and deposited on the desk of the assembly, a quantity of diamonds, valuable effects, money in specie to a great amount, hats of Louis, assignats, and other papers of the utmost importance, which they found in the palace. They did not tread in the steps of their aristocratic betters, those *valiant commanders*, who, in the hour of danger, fled from their colours, stole the military chests, and joined the enemies of their country; thus uniting treachery, robbery, and cowardice together. Let it be recorded also to their eternal glory, that after the strictest search of five hours, made in the house of a suspected person (M. de Beaumarchais) by thirty thousand people, not one article was taken away, or even dislodged from its place—Satisfied that their suspicions had been ill founded, they peaceably retired, leaving every thing in the same order that they found it; and Monsieur de Beaumarchais had the candour publicly to proclaim, in printed handbills distributed all over Paris, this singular instance of moderation and forbearance in an immense multitude, with all the instruments of pillage and devastation in their hands. Such was the respect which, amidst such a violent ferment, the people on all sides testified for the sacred preservation of property, and if ever it was invaded, summary justice was immediately executed.

Amongst our politicians and their agents, who seize every occasion to calumniate the cause of liberty, it is the regular custom, either through ignorance or design, to describe the French nation in a state of anarchy and barbarism; but from a long residence in their capital since the first change of government, and from the ocular testimony which we bore to their proceedings subsequent to the 10th of August, 1792, we are justified in observing, that *Laws are no where so universally respected and obeyed*; and the reason is obvious; the system built on their declaration of rights does not dread the test of enquiry, and if the monarchical part of the constitution is hereafter to be dispensed with, it is because the complicated treasons of the monarch have enforced the necessity of such a measure.

TREACHERIES IN PARIS, PREVIOUS TO THE TENTH OF AUGUST,

The following declaration, made to the committee of circumspection of the National Assembly of France, explains how a part of that secret army was raised, over which the French people triumphed, on the 10th of August.

“On the 27th of August, the fourth year of liberty and the first of equality, the Sieur Chaverot, formerly a grenadier in the

regiment of Brie, now residing in the Rue Bauregarde, Hotel D'Artois, appeared before the committee of general safety, where he made the following declaration: "That, on the 2d of this month, August, during a walk in the garden of the Palais Royal, he was accosted by the Sieur Arrouart, a Brigadier in the band of the Sieur D'Aigremont, who, after some trifling conversation, asked him if he had a mind to get fifty sous per day by mingling with the groupes, and taking the part of the king and royal family; to which proposition, he, the declarant, gave only a vague and uncertain answer; that, the next morning, having taken information as to the residence of the Sieur D'Aigremont, and to the manner in which the part of the king was to be supported, he went to the said Sieur D'Aigremont, in the street St. Peres, No. 10; that there the Sieur D'Aigremont told him, that the plan was to make the king and the constitution respected, that he should go into the public groupes, in order to speak in favour of the king and royal family; to reply to those who might speak against them, and to restore the heated and misled minds of the people; that those who charged themselves with this mission, were very numerous; that they carried under their coats large sticks called *The Constitution*, and were divided into brigades, having each its chief charged with their payment; that if he was inclined to be of the number of those honest persons, he would be payed fifty sous per day.

"The declarant further says, that, being willing to become perfectly acquainted with the schemes of D'Aigremont, he accepted his proposition, of which he immediately informed the municipality, who, however, had had previous intelligence concerning the plan; that, two days afterwards, going out with the above-mentioned Sieur Arrouart, and the Sieur Talon, who was also the band of D'Aigremont, and walking in the Palais Royal, he was accosted by two Chevaliers of St. Louis, who asked him if he was of Paris; after a moment's recollection, he supposed them to be intriguers engaged in some plot, and, to be very much an aristocrat, he was conducted by them to the Cafe du Foy, at the entrance of which they told him, that, as a signal, he must put his right hand upon his face, and rub his eyes with his left hand; after they had drank for some time in the coffee-house, they proposed to engage him in a plot, which consisted in destroying the mayor of Paris, several deputies, and other individuals very well known in the city, recommending to him most expressly to preserve an inviolable secrecy with respect to it; and threatening to kill him, if he should dare to betray them; that, upon the promises of discretion, they agreed to pay

pay him at the rate of six livres per day; and that, after appointing to meet them at the coffee-house he left them.

"The next day, at nine o'clock in the morning, he went to the *Café du Foy*, and made the signal agreed upon, upon which two individuals, whom he had not yet seen, made the same signal, presented themselves to him, and conducted him immediately to the house of a *traiteur*, (*viâtualler*,) whom he does not now recollect, but the house he could discover upon looking for it; that there he saw about fifty persons well-dressed, the greater part decorated with the cross of St. Louis; that these persons asked him several questions, as to what he was, and what he did; that, soon afterwards, they talked of a plot, and named to him several persons who were to be killed; that is to say, M. Petion, mayor of Paris; M. Santerre, commandant of the Parisian national guard; M. M. Merlin, Chabot, Bazire, Fauchet, Duhem, several deputies of the National Assembly, and other persons, whose names he cannot recollect. Here the declarant observed, that, as to the manner of executing their plot, they agreed, that in order to succeed in assassinating the mayor, they should go to him in a crowd, as if to give him a fête, shouting, "*Vive la Nation, Vive la brave Petion, Vive les Sans-Culottes et les brave Marseillois*;" that, while one party remained in the court, the others should introduce themselves under the name of a deputation, into the mansion-house, and should assassinate M. Petion with poignards, as well as all them whom they might find with him, that there might be no discovery or denunciation; that, as to the deputies and other persons, whom it was proposed to kill, they should go in great numbers to each of them, under pretext of having news to give them of their departments, and that they should seize a moment to poignard them, as well as those found with them, that there might be no denunciation.

"The said persons, after having entered with the declarant, into these details, left him, agreeing upon another rendezvous at the *Café du Foy*, the next day, about noon, under another signal agreed upon; that the next day the declarant went at the appointed hour, to the *Café*, where, after making the signal, two individuals, whom he then saw for the first time, came up to him, and invited him to dine with them at the house of a *traiteur* in the Rue St. Honoré, where he found eight persons who expected them, and with whom they sat down to table; that, during the dinner, a great number of persons successively presented themselves, and whispered something to the persons with whom the declarant dined, upon which he expressed his discontent, saying, that this conduct was the more unfuitable, that

that they could not be ignorant of his being in the plot, and that if they did not treat him with more confidence, he should retire; that these individuals then excused themselves, assuring him that they did not distrust him, but that it was necessary to use precautions, to prevent the plot from being overheard by those who did not concur in it, and that he would soon hear more; that the dinner being finished, a new rendezvous was appointed with the declarant for the next day, at the same Café, between noon and one o'clock, from whence they were to go to the Bois de Boulogne and dine there; that the next morning, the declarant went to the appointed place somewhat later than the hour agreed upon, and found no person there; he resolved to go alone to the Bois de Boulogne, where, having arrived, and perceiving, on the right, an old palace, the name of which he does not know, he thought that the persons, who had appointed the interview with him might be there, and there he found them, with several other persons, whom he had not seen till then; that they sat down to table, and, during the dinner, a great number of persons came and went, observing, upon entering, the signal of union, which consisted in pinching a button of their waistcoats, and that they whispered each other, upon which the declarant expressed his discontent, as did another person, who appeared to be really attached to the plot; but they replied, that no uneasiness ought to arise upon that account, for that, to-morrow, there would no longer be any mystery, and that every thing would be told, which was enquired.

“ The declarant adds, that he then induced a person, who appeared to him to be in the plot, to demand money; that he, the declarant, then asked for some also; and, that the *Sieur Auchet*, *Chevalier* of *St. Louis*, gave him fifteen livres, telling him not to lose patience, for that, on the next day, all those who should be employed in the plot would receive each three or four hundred livres, and should want for nothing; that they would have force, money, and poignards; afterwards, they spoke of the arrangements to be made for the morning of the 10th; that these arrangements consisted in their assembling in the *Champ Elysées*, at the *Chateau* of *La Muette*, at the *Bois de Boulogne*, and at *Meudon*: that sentinels would be posted from one distance to another to know, according to circumstances, what conduct should be pursued; that all the persons initiated in the plot would wear, under the doublure of their coat, a small piece of scarlet with an embroidery of *fleurs de lys*, in silver. After dinner, the declarant adds, that all those with whom he had dined, went to walk in the *Bois de Boulogne*; there several persons, of whom some came from a carriage, met them; he

the declarant and several other newly initiated in the plot were reviewed, after which, those persons conversed for some time with those who appeared to be of their acquaintance; on the morning of the 10th, after the battle, the declarant, who had been invited to pass the night in the palace of the Thuilleries, being in the Palais Royal, met two of the above-mentioned persons, who told him, that the plot had been discovered, and that he must endeavour to discover the person who had betrayed it and kill him; that the declarant defended himself from the suspicions which they appeared to have with respect to him, after which he quitted them, and has not seen them since.

“ But the declarant observes, that he is informed, that the ill-intentioned had not abandoned their plot, and that they had even since assembled in the chateau of la Meutte, and at Meudon. The declarant, who had before given all the above information to the municipality of Paris, has thought it is duty to communicate it also to the committee of general safety of the National Assembly, and has signed this declaration,

(Signed) “ CHAVEROT.”

“ An exact copy, certified by us, members of the committee of general safety of the National Assembly.

(Signed) “ LOMONT, VARDON, C. BAZIRE.”

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

September 7.

Among the numerous letters received this morning was one from M. Saulce, dated at Varennes—He said, that, on account of his having arrested the King in the month of June 1791, he had been pursued by the enemy, and been forced to quit his home. He added, that his children had been carried away, and that he knew not what had become of any of them except the eldest, now sixteen years of age, and serving his country; that the electoral assemblies were interrupted, and that the Austrians and Prussians were laying waste the country.

The Minister at War informed the Assembly, that M. Luckner was busily employed in training the volunteers who had arrived from different parts; and that M. Dumourier would soon be at the head of 37,000 men, well trained; after which he would be able to act on the offensive instead of being on the defensive, as hitherto: He wanted only armed men—those without only impeded military evolutions.

A letter

A letter was read from General Ferriers, announcing the pacific dispositions of the Swifs. The troops of Berne, which seemed to threaten the French frontiers, had received orders to retire.

A number of negroes appeared at the Bar, and offered their services to go to the frontiers to combat despotism and its slaves. Accepted.

A letter from M. Petion was read. It stated, "that emissaries were still continuing to spread their pernicious doctrines among the people, and that some effectual means should immediately be devised to give energy to the law."

M. Bazire said, that a number of citizens had dug up the leaden coffins in all the churches, in order to convert them into balls.

The assembly passed the following decree:

"Considering that a treacherous court, seconded by a perfidious ministry, had kept up a private correspondence with all the towns of war, for the purpose of having them delivered up to the enemy when they were attacked, with a view to intimidate all conspirators and traitors, the assembly decrees—

"1. In all places which are besieged, or even threatened, the military commandant may dismiss, after having disarmed them, all citizens who appear suspicious, and all those whose presence might either be useless or hurtful to the defence of the post.

"2. Every commandant, in virtue of the above article, is authorised to enforce the execution of his orders by force and military law.

"3. The commandant of every place besieged is authorised to demolish and raze the house of every citizen who may speak of surrendering; and if the citizen be only a tenant or lodger, his furniture and effects shall be publicly burnt, and his person shall be seized, that he may be punished agreeably to the law of the 20th of July last.

"4. The present law shall be printed, and a copy of that of July subjoined to it; and shall be sent by couriers to the different departments to be posted up."

September 8.

Letters from the generals were read. M. Luckner communicated the dispositions he had taken for checking the progress of the enemy. M. Kellerman had repaired with his army towards Chalons, and the Prussians having advanced to Clermont-en-Argonne, were directing their march towards Bar-le-due.

A letter was next read from M. Petion, giving an account of the state of the capital. The people, he said, misled by hired emissaries, were beginning to open their eyes, and they now saw the necessity of living under the protection of the law. He added, that their hearts, as well as their hands, refused now to execute the bloody projects which malevolent men wished to excite them to. The letter was ordered to be printed and posted up.

Dispatches from the generals were read, stating, that the king of Prussia had summoned the town of Bar-le-Duc to furnish him with 25,000 sacks of wheat and oats, and that the deputies who went to Verdun to settle the affairs of the town, were detained by his Prussian majesty as hostages.

A letter from M. Merlin was read, of which the following is an extract :

“ When informed that Thionville was threatened by the enemy, I dispatched an extraordinary courier to my fellow citizens with a promise of speedy assistance. The answer which I received from the inhabitants of Thionville is as follows :

“ We have just now received the dispatch you sent to us by an extraordinary courier. We wait for the enemy with confidence, and we are determined to conquer, or to bury ourselves under the walls of our town. Tell the National Assembly, that we bear our country in our hearts, and what cannot be accomplished by the ardent love of liberty?—We wait for the assistance which you have promised us.”

Some male and female citizens of Seux, filed through the hall, and one of the women thus addressed the assembly :

“ Legislators! we make an offering to our country of the small sum of 92 livres in money, and 118 livres in assignats. There is, however, a still greater sacrifice which we are going to make to our country. We come to present to you our fathers, our brothers, our friends, our husbands, and those who are soon to become so.—Let them depart—let them fly to acquire that glory which the weakness of our sex prevents us from sharing with them.”

M. President—“ Patriotism is the greatest of all virtues—Nature seems to have formed women only to be the charm of society—Patriotism renders them intrepid, courageous, warlike. The assembly with pleasure beholds that common patriotism, which animates you and your husbands, and it is with satisfaction that they are going to administer to you the common oath.”—Applauded.

A letter was read from the Electoral Assembly of Sarthe, containing a list of the deputies they had elected to the National Convention.

Convention. They said, that if they continued to be as happy in their choice, they should have neither feuillans nor royalists among them.

A deputation from the municipality, with M. Petion at their head, appeared at the bar.

M. Petion.—“ I come to propose to you a plan, which I consider as of utility. The hall in which you now sit is very inconvenient, it is narrow and unwholesome; it is capable of containing only a small number of spectators, and is suited neither to national majesty, nor to the importance of your discussions.

“ The avenues which lead to it are besides too confined. Do not think that a proper place for your sitting is an object of indifference. We have cast our eyes upon a more extensive building—it forms part of the palace of the Thuilleries, and was formerly the hall of the French theatre. Palaces have hitherto been set apart for kings—it is time that the people should have theirs also—[*applauded*]. We request that you will take these observations into consideration.”

M. Cara being admitted to the bar, presented a snuff-box which had been sent to him some years ago, by the Prince Royal, now king of Prussia, to whom he had dedicated a work in 4 vols. with this eulogium, “ That he hoped when he ascended the throne he would become a man.” He at the same time tore the signature of the king of Prussia’s letter, and requested the box might be applied to the purpose of carrying on the war against tyrants.

M. President.—“ What is there in common between a king and a free people? between a crowned despot and men who have directed their talents to the defence of the rights of nations? The assembly shares your virtuous indignation, and your love for liberty.”

September 9.

A letter from three of the commissioners appointed to superintend the raising of men, stated, that the département of Eure had furnished 800 ready armed, and was still to furnish more; Troyes had furnished 360 armed and equipped, four pieces of cannon, and a company of artillery; Alençon 200; and that subscriptions of money were numerous, and filling rapidly.

M. Petion announced, that the works of the camp of Paris were going on with activity, but that the number of workmen was still too small. He gave the most flattering assurances with respect to the state of the capital. Tranquillity was reviving; the

the effervescence occasioned by the late events was now directed to the public good: And the citizens had but one wish—that of uniting against their common enemies.

LETTER FROM THE COMMISSIONERS AT CHALONS.

September 8.—Four in the Afternoon.

“ Marshal Luckner is still the only one of the état-major here; the rest will arrive this evening, or to-morrow. He has sent successively from this place to the armies of Dumourier and Kellerman, the armed battalions as they arrived. At present there are only 2000 volunteers remaining, but their number increases every hour. The marshal does not intend to retain here more than 12,000 men. He will send all above that number, in a condition fit for service, to the two armies.

“ The camp of Chalons will be formed along the left bank of the Marne. It can only be a camp of reserve and of instruction, for there is no military position in this neighbourhood. The marshal is resolved to send back all those who are not properly armed, or who have not strength of body for service, to prevent unnecessary consumption of provisions, and the turbulence of an idle rabble.

“ Observe, that Chalons must be the entrepot of almost the whole of the provisions for the armies of Kellerman and Dumourier, and for the camp formed here. The greatest attention must therefore be paid to avoid the consumption of useless mouths.—We cannot too much recommend to the executive power, and the commons of Paris, not to suffer any to set out for Chalons, but men able bodied and well armed; and those not without previous notice of their number, both to the marshal and the superintendant of provisions here. A neglect of these precautions, we warn you, may be productive of great evils. The commissaries are exerting themselves with great activity in laying in stores of corn and flour, and speak highly of the aid they receive from the administrative bodies, and the municipality. Eight hundred pound weight of ball is made per day, and 120,000 cartridges are now ready.”

The following is an abstract of the details given us by the marshal, respecting the position of the enemy, and the armies of Kellerman and Dumourier.

The Duke of Brunswick's army is between Verdun and Clermont; it is computed at 50,000 men. The emigrants are behind Longwy, to the number of 50,000, with about 5000 other troops. General Clairfait is towards Cavignan, with 30,000

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Austrians.

Austrians. About 25,000 Austrians are between Sarrelouis and Longwy—making, with other small bodies, about 132,000, besides the troops in the Brisgaw and in Flanders, computed at 80,000.

He says, that troops are also forming in the empire, but that they will not be able to act this campaign.

The enemy draw forage from Verdun, and transport it to Luxembourg, which shew they are in want of it.

The enemy's plans are not yet sufficiently opened to discover their object; whether it be to penetrate immediately into the heart of the kingdom, or first to get possession of Thionville and Metz. The marshal conjectures that the latter must be their plan. The communication between Thionville and Metz is stopped.

The marshal receives dispatches every day from the armies of Dumourier and Kellerman.

General Dumourier, with his army, occupies the position of Grandpré. His advanced guard, commanded by Arthur Dillon, is at Ste. Menchould, and a post of this advanced guard occupies the point below Des Iletes, a village between Clermont and Ste. Menchould. The position of these several bodies renders their posts unattackable, because nature presents infinite resources to art. The army of Kellerman is in the environs of Bar-le-Duc. Generals Dumourier and Kellermann, have an easy correspondence with Marshal Luckner, which has not yet been interrupted for a moment.

The advanced guard, commanded by Arthur Dillon, consists of 7000 men. On the 12th of this month Dumourier's army, including this advanced guard, will amount to 42,000. Kellerman's army consists of 16,000. The numbers of these two armies are independent of the reinforcements which Marshal Luckner may, from time to time, send to them.

On the 13th of September, the National Assembly passed the following decree respecting the honours to be paid to the memory of M. Beaurepaire, late commandant of Verdun:

"The National Assembly decree, that the body of M. Beaurepaire, commandant of the first battalion of Mayenne-et-Loire, shall be transported from Sainte Menchould, and deposited in the French Pantheon."

The following inscription shall be placed on his tomb:

"Il aime mieux mourir que de capituler avec tyrans."

"He preferred death to entering into a capitulation with tyrants."

"The pension which he enjoyed shall be continued to his son to defray the expences of his education.

"The

"The president is requested to write to his widow and his son.

"The executive power is commissioned to see the present decree put in execution."

In virtue of this decree, M. Herault read a letter, which he was ordered to write to the widow and son of M. Beaurepaire. It was approved of, and was as follows :

"MADAM,

"The brave Beaurepaire, your husband, terminated a military life of forty years by an heroic death. He could not think of living in a town which was no longer French. He has left a grand example to all the soldiers who fight under the banners of liberty. The National Assembly, sensible of your loss, have ordered me to write to you, and to transmit to you the copy of a decree which they have just now passed. You will find there, Madam, that the French nation is worthy of having a Brutus to defend it. May the gratitude of your country console your grief, and that of your son, who is still left to you ! His father died for liberty, may the son live long for it ! He cannot fail of being a hero, if he always calls to mind, that he is the son of the intrepid Beaurepaire."

ADDRESS OF THE MINISTER AT WAR TO THE CITIZENS OF THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS.

"CITIZENS,

"I cannot sufficiently applaud the civic zeal with which you are animated, and of which you daily give such distinguished proofs, by striving who shall be first to fly to the relief of your country while in danger. But, in the name of that country which is so dear to you, of liberty and equality, which you so justly adore, I beseech you not to quit your habitations, in order to join the armies, until you are provided with arms to enable you to combat with success the enemies of the national independence. If hurried away by the enthusiasm of your zeal, you should repair to the camps, without being armed with muskets, it will be impossible for the generals to admit you into the ranks, and to retain you with them. Instead of being useful to the nation, you may become a burden to it, for you would consume part of the provisions which have been collected for the combatants. I entreat you, therefore, citizens, in the name of every thing you hold most dear, to remain at your homes, till you are armed either by my care or your own. I hope the moment is not far distant, when I shall have it in my power to put you in a condition to join your brethren in arms to attack and to vanquish the enemies of liberty and equality.

"JOSEPH SERVAN, *Minister at War.*"

PRO-

PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL DUMOURIER, ADDRESSED TO ALL FRENCH CITIZENS IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF ARDENNES AND LA MARNE, AND PARTICULARLY TO THOSE IN THE DISTRICTS OF VOUZIERES, GRANDPRE, SAINTE MENEHOULD, CLERMONT, SEDAN, MEZIERES, ROEROY, AND RHETEL.

(Printed by order of the National Assembly.)

“ CITIZENS,

“ The enemy are making progress in the territories of freemen, because you do not take the precaution to thresh out your corn, and to carry it towards the interior parts, in order that it may be under the protection of the French troops, and to bring to the camp of your brethren forage and straw, for which you would be paid ready money by your countrymen, who respect your property; instead of this, your grain is devoured by the fattelites of despots; their horses are nourished by your forage, while you receive no payment for it. Thus do you give our cruel enemies the means of subsisting in the midst of you, of loading you with outrages, and of plunging you again into slavery. Citizens, I command you, in the name of your country and of liberty, to carry your corn and forage to the different camps, and to make the municipal officers certify the quantities which you bring.

“ I command you also to drive your cattle and horses behind our camps; if you do not, I shall be obliged, for the safety of the country, to sacrifice your private interests, to behave to you as our barbarous enemies, and to send foraging parties into your villages, in order that they may not there find subsistence.

“ You, in particular, inhabitants of the districts of Sedan, Mezieres, Grandpré, Vouzieres, and Sainte Menchould, I invite you to take advantage of the ruggedness of your mountains, and the thickness of your forests, to assist me in preventing the enemy from penetrating through them; I, therefore acquaint you, that if the Austrians and Prussians advance with a design of passing those defiles which I guard, I will cause the alarm bell to be rung in every parish, either before or behind the forests of Argonne and Mazarin. At this terrible sound, let all those among you who have fire arms, proceed from his parish to the borders of the wood, from Cheveuze as far as Passavant; and let others with shovels, pick-axes, and hatches, cut down the trees on the edge of the wood, and construct abbatis to prevent the enemy from penetrating into the country. By pursuing this prudent

prudent and courageous plan, you will preserve your liberty, or you will assist in destroying those who wish to deprive you of it.

“ In the name of the law and our country, I request all administrators of departments and districts, and all municipal officers, to give orders, under pain of responsibility, that the different objects contained in this proclamation may be duly executed; whoever may throw any obstacle in the way of that measure, shall be denounced to the National Assembly as a perjured coward; but as this mode of proceeding might prove too slow, I declare, that in case I am compelled, I will employ the means which military law places in my hands, to enforce the execution of whatever I may consider necessary, for the safety of my country.

(Signed)

“ DUMOURIER,

“ *Commander in chief of the army of the North.*”

AUSTRIAN ACCOUNT.

BRUSSELS, Sept. 10.

General La Tour having formed a design of taking the two small towns of Lannoi and Roubaix, situated between Tournay and Lille, where the enemy had garrisons which continually disturbed our advanced posts, left Tournay on the 4th instant, at the head of 2500 men, consisting of infantry, light horse, and chasseurs, with three pieces of cannon and a howitzer, with an intention of attacking Lannoi the next morning. The French post there was 200 men. The same day colonel Mylius proceeded on his part, at the head of 800 men, to attack Roubaix at the same time. On the 5th, at day-break, the corps commanded by general La Tour made a strong attack on Lannoi; the French defended themselves for two hours with the greatest intrepidity, but at length, finding themselves on the point of being forced on all sides, the municipality hung out a white flag. Our troops not perceiving from the display of the flag that the garrison wished to capitulate, paid no attention to it, and the same pillage and excesses prevailed as, when a town is taken by storm; the garrison, who had retreated into a church, were made prisoners of war, to the number of six officers, and 144 subalterns and soldiers. A number of Brabanters of the corps of Bethune Charolte saved themselves by leaping from the ramparts, whilst our troops were entering the town, but were pursued, and most of them cut to pieces; four who were brought back prisoners were shot at Tournay, by virtue of the law of Stand-Recht. We had on this occasion thirty-five men killed, and

and fifty-four wounded. The French must have lost nearly as many. Colonel Mylius, on his part, attacked Roubaix, and after a desperate resistance at length took it by storm. The garrison, who consisted of about 100 men, were partly killed; a captain and fifty men were made prisoners. Our loss in this affair is not exactly known, but must have been very considerable.

SINGULAR DECREE OF THE SECTION POISSONNIERE.

A letter having been read from the rector of St. Laurent, inviting the assembly of that section to assist at the funeral service performed in honour of our brethren, who fell on the 10th of August last, the assembly, persuaded that it is at length time to speak *the language of reason*, decreed the following answer:

“The martyrs of liberty, our brave brethren, who fell on the 10th of August, have no need of being excused or recommended to a just, good, and merciful God; the blood which they have shed for their country effaces all their faults, and gives them a claim to the beneficence of the Deity.

“What—shall we go and offer up our prayers to the Divinity that he may not condemn our brethren to the punishment of eternal fire? This would be offering an insult to him—it would be telling him that he is the most ferocious, the most absurd, and the most ridiculous of all beings. God, sir, is just: Our brethren consequently enjoy a perfect happiness, which nothing can destroy: Bad citizens alone can doubt it.

“Shew us upon your altar-pieces the glorious victims of liberty, crowned with flowers, and occupying the place of St. Crispin and St. Evenfin.

“Substitute songs of liberty for the absurd hymns ascribed to that ferocious David—that crowned monster—that Nero of the Hebrews, whose least crime was his having assassinated a husband, in order that he might sleep more conveniently with his wife. We shall then unite with you in celebrating together that God, who imprinted on the heart of man that instinct which excites in him the love of liberty.

(Signed)

“DEVAUDICHON, *President*.

“TABOUE, *Secretary*.”

JACOBIN CLUB.

September 13.

M. Le Moine, who had been commissioned to present the plan of a circular letter, to be transmitted to all the associated societies, in order to make them acquainted with the reason of the suspension of the correspondence of the society, communicated

ated the following address, which it was immediately agreed should be printed, and sent to the associated societies:

"The mother society has been obliged to interrupt its correspondence since the 10th of August, not because it considered that day as putting an end to plots and intrigues, but because many of its members were honoured with the public confidence, and admitted to places in the provisional administrations, juries, &c. The society, however, become a little more numerous, is desirous of renewing an active correspondence with its brethren in the departments, persuaded that the present circumstances require more than ever the most fraternal communication between patriotic societies.

"Since the 10th of August the conspirators have expiated their crimes; the public spirit has prevailed; and the sovereign people recovering their rights, have at length triumphed over villains leagued together against their happiness and liberty.—The inhabitants of Paris, however, have been sensible of the necessity of continuing on their guard, and of keeping strict watch over the agents and supporters of the conspiracy of that *traitor, Louis the last*. Let us never cease to dread, friends and brethren, that new intrigues may succeed to those already rendered abortive. The chief, the cause, and the pretence of machinations still breathe! Despotism grows in darkness. Let us stand up ready to give it a deadly blow, under whatever form it may appear.

"The grand interests of the people are going to be discussed in the national convention. Let us not loose a single moment to prepare, and let it hear the national wish, which ought alone to direct its actions. Let us above all prevent, by firm measures, the danger of seeing these ~~new~~ legislators oppose, with impunity, their interests, or private wishes, to the sovereign will of the nation. Let inviolability in future be attached to nothing but the law; let all the public magistrates see punishment placed by the side of crimes. Remember how small is the number of those legislators who have resisted corruption—very few indeed can be found in each legislature. Let us be inspired then with the spirit of the electoral body of Paris. They alone can save us from all kinds of despotism, and from dangers and convulsions too much prolonged, &c.

"The decrees of that body express, 'That a scrutiny shall be made of the national convention, for the purpose of expelling from its bosom such suspected members as may, in their nomination, have escaped the sagacity of the primary assemblies.

"That all deputies chosen to the national convention who may have attacked, or shall attack, the sovereignty of the people, shall be declared incapable of sitting.

“ That all constitutional decrees passed by the National Assembly, shall be sanctioned or revised by the people.

“ That royalty shall be absolutely abolished, and the punishment of death inflicted on those who may propose the re-establishment of it.

“ That the form of government shall be republican.”

“ These, friends and brethren, are the important objects which the electors, the community, and the primary assemblies of Paris, invite you to discuss fully, in order that you may strengthen and support the national convention with your wishes respecting them.”

The President communicated the following address to the Parisians, sent to the society by the citizens of Vic-Ferenca :

“ What pencil can trace out the intrepid wisdom, the magnanimous valour, and the heroic actions of the conquerors of a *monstrous tyrant*—of the immortal saviours of their country !

“ What language can express those lively sentiments of the justest gratitude with which we are inspired ! What testimony shall we give of it to our dear deliverers—our fellow-citizens of Paris, Marseilles, and Brest, and the federates of the eighty-three departments !

“ What praise can reward the infinite merit of your bravery ! All our hearts are devoted to you—may they be wholly diffused into yours. You shall always live in them, and posterity will place no where else the most valuable monuments of your glory !

“ France had broken its chains, and tyrants, grown fat on its vitals, were renewing its bonds. The most horrid slavery was preparing for the human race. O ! excess of barbarity !—O ! monstrous atrocity !—They wished to conduct us to it through flames, slaughter, and conflagrations, through rivers of human blood and mountains of carcases *sacrificed to a crowned tyger*.—Let us shudder with horror. The general plan was formed ; the hour struck ; the conspirators were assembled ; the victims were marked out, and the signal was expected. What supernatural power saved us from this danger ? The citizens of Paris and the federates. They hastened to arms ; they flocked together ; the retreat of the minions of Coblentz was attacked ; the *tyger* escaped ; the monsters were crushed, and their abominable actions, their *liberticide* plots, their high treason, the gall and rancour of their hearts, were all exposed to the face of day. Just Heaven shall thy thunder-bolts spare such unnatural beings ! Must their atrocious perfidy still sacrifice the worthy avengers of the national sovereignty ? O ! unfortunate country, must thou still shed tears for the loss of thy dear children who have devoted

devoted themselves to combat, and to exterminate thy mortal enemies!

"The sovereignty of the people, however, is avenged; our country is saved; liberty and equality are restored; the legislators proceed in their career with a firm and majestic step, and the vices of the constitution are about to be effaced. Brave Parisians, courageous federates, behold the work which you have accomplished. Glory, honour, and gratitude, are for ever due to you. The whole human race are your debtors—you have effected the revolution, you will finish it, and secure the foundations of that code, which will entail happiness on future generations. In your presence, while the remembrance of your actions is still fresh, the just limits of all powers are going to be traced out: They will no longer clash, or interrupt one another in their operations.

"Royalty conceived in an evil hour, and unworthily privileged, will no longer degrade our popular government. The constitution, rendered pure and simple, will raise each citizen in his turn to that rank which he deserves, and even to the first; and every one, without exception, will be sunk to the level of the multitude, or pay with his head for crimes committed against the sovereignty of the people and their general will.—One moment more, courageous citizens—one moment more, and your labours will be seconded. The tyrants of Europe, and the oppressors of liberty will be overthrown, and we shall enjoy in peace the fruits of the revolution."

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

September 14.

On a motion made by M. Choudieu, the assembly passed the following decrees:

"1. The sums which ought to be paid from the national treasury to the inhabitants of the towns of Longwy and Verdun, for the salaries of people in office, and other national purposes, shall be suspended.

"2. The liquidating commissioner is forbidden to give to the inhabitants of Longwy and Verdun, any bonds, either definitive or provisional, or any orders on the national treasury; and every public agent and paymaster is enjoined not to pay any sum on such bonds, either delivered or to be delivered.

"3. Every receiver of the district is also forbidden to receive in payment for national property any such bonds or orders, under the penalty of responsibility."

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M. Coustard announced that 110 pieces of cannon of different calibers, had arrived from Nantes for the defence of Paris.

A citizen named Louis Carpentier appeared at the bar. He said, that a report was propagated, that a plot was formed for massacring all the members of the legislature who might not be elected to the national convention. He requested, therefore, that the National Assembly would not separate until they had issued a proclamation to protect the persons of such deputies as might not be chosen to the national convention.

M. Merlin read the following

LETTER FROM THIONVILLE.

“ The enemy had erected their batteries near the chapel of Sainte Anne, between the Luxembourg-gate and that of Metz, in a small plain, which commanded the fort above La Haute-Guge, on the right bank of the Moselle. The troops, stationed to defend the fort, perceiving that the enemy were endeavouring to throw up works, and to form a trench, with a view of establishing their batteries in the spot above-mentioned, agreed to suffer them to proceed, until a favourable opportunity for interrupting them might occur. The besieged being informed that the enemy meant to give the signal of attack by firing a gun, waited patiently till midnight, each of the cannoneers lying down by the side of their guns. As soon as the besiegers gave the signal, their batteries began to play, but their fire continued only a quarter of an hour, during which time three shells fell in the town, one on the parish church, another on the house of M. Henrion, in the grand-street, which did no damage, and the third entered a window of the third story, in the house of Mr. Jose, in Hospital-street, which destroyed the furniture, and set fire to the bed.

“ At the end of a quarter of an hour the batteries of the town and fort, lighted by fire-pots, played for three hours.— The first discharge, which was with landgridge, killed many of the enemy, who had advanced in order to attempt an escalade, and this fire obliged the assailants to abandon the place. The garrison then being at liberty to sally forth, collected the spoils left by the enemy, among which they found the planks destined to assist them in scaling the walls. Having carried all these things into the fort, a second sally was made to destroy the works of the enemy. It is asserted, that three Princes were killed in this action, among whom was the Prince of Waldeck, who at least lost an arm; and that the enemy carried off three wagon-load of dead bodies. When the garrison made their first sortie, they found near the batteries of La Haute Guge, limbs and arms

arms of every kind, together with cloaks, watches, &c. The enemy, satisfied with this first check, have attempted nothing since. The deserters from the camp of Richemont say, that they lost in this affair 450 men, and that they would have given four thousand to preserve the Prince of Waldeck. The environs of the town are at present inundated by the river Scille, the current of which has been stopped. Fresh orders have been given to the citizens, to cut down all the trees within 250 toises of the glacis.

“ The following facts respecting Longwy are given on the report of a person who arrived in this town, by permission of the commandant of that place. The enemy have left there only 1,800 men, together with the cannon which they employed in the siege. The mortars and howitzers have been conveyed to the army at Thionville. The municipality continue their operations, but the district no longer exists. Great mortality prevails among the horses, because they have been fed with unripe wheat.”

The minister at war transmitted to the assembly the copy of some dispatches which he had received from general Biron.— The general said, that a letter had been sent to him from the Swiss *chargé d'affaires*, stating, that the cantons were much displeased at the dismissal of their troops, and at the manner in which they had been sent back without arms, and in small bodies, like a banditti.

The minister for the home department sent to the assembly the copy of a letter which he had written to the mayor of Paris, on the atrocities daily committed in the capital. A number of banditti went up and down the streets, and robbed the passengers of their watches, buckles, and jewels, under the pretence of making them contribute to the expences of the war. Some affrays had taken place in consequence of these depredations, and several of the plunderers had been killed.

The minister of war communicated extracts from three letters written by general Kellerman. They stated that the general's army had advanced on the 12th to Bar-le-Duc, and that the advanced guard of the Prussian army immediately fell back on the main body. It was reported that a contagious distemper had broken out in the Prussian camp, and that many of the soldiers were falling daily sacrifices to it. On the 13th general Kellerman was informed that the Prussians had attacked M. Dumourier in three different quarters, and that the general had advanced towards Saint Dizier to cover Chalons.

The extract of a letter written by M. Dumourier to marshal Luckner, and dated September 13th, was likewise read. It announced that the Prussian light troops, by penetrating an abatis,

ris, had attacked him on one side, and that general Chazot, with five battalions, had been sent to repulse them. The enemy had also made an attack on the right and left wings, at Marel and Mortaud, but had been beaten in both. M. Dumourier expected that the attack would be renewed next day, if the weather, which was extremely unfavourable, would permit.

DIVORCES.

M. Sedilley said, he hoped the assembly was going to restore to nature her rights, and free rational beings from the horrid yoke of being obliged to live together after they had not only ceased to love one another, but even after their love had turned to hatred. He was sorry that the law of divorce would not be of equal use to the woman as to the man; for after having lost many of her charms in the arms of one husband, she could no longer possess the same powers of attraction to gain a second, which had procured her a first one. Women, therefore, were those citizens who would least feel the happiness of that *equality*, for which the nation was contending.

He proposed, that, as marriage was now a civil contract, it might be dissolved by the same power by which it was made, namely, by the consent of the contracting parties; but for the purpose of preventing caprice from having too much weight in a business of such a nature, he proposed that the grounds of the divorce should be submitted to a jury; that when it was the *man* who sued for it, the jury should be composed of *women*, and *vice versa*; and that it should be called a *jury of repudiation*.

The assembly, after having heard many long arguments on the subject, came at length to the two following resolutions:

“ 1. That a divorce, that is to say, a dissolution of the marriage, by the mutual consent of the husband and wife, be allowed.

“ 2. That a divorce be allowed at the desire of *either* the husband or wife, on the simple allegation of difference of tempers, or other stated ground.”

When these two resolutions were carried, the strangers in the gallery shouted applause.

REFRACTORY PRIESTS.

Many of these emigrants being now in England, in consequence of the decree of the National Assembly made against them, we shall state the proceedings of the assembly upon this subject,

subject, from the French account printed at Paris, which has been erroneously given in the English prints:

August 23.

M. La Croix rose—What a multiplicity of important measures we have to adopt previous to our separation! We are to dispose of the confiscated property of the order of Malta: But the grand object, which should now arrest the whole of our attention is, the exile of the priests, who refuse taking the prescribed oath. When we shall have once removed those public plagues, our every exertion will then be crowned with success. Let us then proceed and decree the immediate banishment of the priests who have infected France with ten thousand evils!!

M. Merlin interrupted M. La Croix, and said, Nothing can be more urgent; those wicked priests second the endeavours of our enemies; they join them; and I know many who have caused themselves to be installed by the Prussian soldiers, in the parishes they formerly possessed.

M. La Croix moved, and the assembly decreed, that the discussion should immediately be opened.

M. Benoiston proposed the following article:

“All priests liable to take the oath prescribed by the law of the 26th of December, 1790, and such as were not obliged to take that oath, as not being in office, but who were to have taken the civic oath, ordained by the law of the 3d of September, 1791, and that did not take such oath, shall be sent out of the kingdom.”

The motion was unanimously applauded.

Some members proposed amendments.

A gentleman thought, that a fortnight should be allowed them to quit the country.

Another member was of opinion, that three days would be sufficient, considering the urgency of the case.

M. La Croix wished that all the capons and monks of every description should be comprised in the law.

M. Cambon thought the assembly should appoint the place to which the exiles should be banished. He mentioned Cayenne. We shall send them to the world's end, said he, far from every polished country. There they will become less vicious; they will till the earth; they will be men, in short, and no longer wicked priests. I move, that they be all transported to Cayenne.

M. La Croix seconded the motion.

M. Fauchet, a priest himself, wished all the non-conforming priests should be sent to the islands of Rhé and Oléron.

Messrs. Broussonet, Reboul, La Source, and Vergniaud, were of

of opinion, it would be much better to make the rebel priests go beyond the frontiers.

M. Cambon opposed that proposition—To adopt it, he said, would be pregnant with danger. There were above 40,000 priests to be banished. If they were sent beyond the frontiers, more than half of them would take up arms against France.—With a sword in one hand, and a crucifix in the other, they would lay the country waste, when joined to the enemy's troops.

The assembly decreed M. Benoiston's motion, and M. La Croix's amendment. The priests who are to be banished the kingdom, are to be allowed twenty-four hours for every ten leagues they have to travel towards the frontiers.

SUNDAY, *August 26.*

The National Assembly, considering the urgency of determining the fate of the clergy who have refused to take the oath prescribed by law, this day decreed, That all such who do not depart the kingdom within fifteen days after the notification of the decree by the section wherein they reside, shall be sent into perpetual exile, to that part of South America called Cayenne.—Each clergyman conforming to this decree, is allowed three livres for every eight leagues, and will receive a passport, containing his description, and the place of his destination. Those who return from banishment, or who, after receiving their passports, do not leave the kingdom within the limited time, will be liable to ten years imprisonment.

The National Assembly, humanely reflecting on the force of education and long prejudice, liberally exempted from submission to this decree, those who produce a certificate of their infirmities, or who can prove, by the parish register, that they are above sixty years of age.

September 14.

M. Beaucaron said, he had a circumstance to communicate to the assembly, in which their humanity and legislative authority were equally interested. Several non-juring clergymen in different departments had, in obedience to the law enjoining them to quit the kingdom, on pain of transportation to America, applied for the passports. Some citizens, fearing that they might repair to the emigrant army, and thus swell the numbers of the public enemies, opposed the granting of passports, and desired that they might be kept at home, but imprisoned. "In this disposition of the people, (said he,) if you insist that the non-juring clergy shall obey the law, and quit the kingdom, there is

no

no doubt but the people will butcher them, sooner than let them go; and if you wait till the term allowed by law for their exiling themselves is elapsed, these unhappy men, who are willing to obey the law, will become liable to transportation to Guiana, not through any act of theirs, but because you do not, or are not able to enforce your own decrees. Restore to the laws their energy; to the courts of justice and to magistrates, their authority; to the people, order and tranquillity, and to the non-juring clergy, the means of obeying your statutes. The subject was referred to a committee.

LONDON, *September 20.*

In consequence of the preceding decree of the National Assembly of France, banishing all the priests who refused to conform to the new establishment; a great number of them came to England, to the amount, it is supposed, of several thousands. Some landed at Dover, Brighthelmstone, East-Bourne, and other places. Many lay persons left France at the same time, and also came to England. These were all people who disapproved of the dissolution of the monarchy, and many of them being conscious of having been concerned in associations for a counter-revolution, took the opportunity of leaving the kingdom. The French permitted them to go because they considered this voluntary banishment as freeing them from intestine and secret enemies. When they arrived in England, many of them were in great distress, upon which several public subscriptions were immediately opened for their relief. These subscriptions were countenanced by the friends of the British court, and they were extensive and liberal beyond all expectation. A committee of noblemen and gentlemen was appointed for the distribution of the money*.

At the same time it must be remarked, that a subscription for a contrary purpose was intended and advertised in the following words: "The present impudent combination of despots against the rights of human nature, calls upon every man, who feels as a man, to assist the struggling freemen of France against their foreign enemies. Dr. Maxwell requests those gentlemen who are willing to concur in a plan for giving them the most speedy and effectual assistance, to honour him with their company on Wednesday Sept. the 12th, at two o'clock, at his house, No. 73, Great Portland-Street. William Maxwell."

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* The facetious Hogarth, in his first picture, has portrayed the French invading England, with the pious intent of forcing upon us the Roman Catholic persuasion, and among racks, idols, daggers and crucifixes, has ex-

The success of this measure is to be seen in the following account of it, given in the public prints next day :

" A Dr. Maxwell, a gentleman, we understand, but little known, had issued some public notices for a meeting at his house, in Portland-Street, yesterday, in consequence of which, several gentlemen came to contribute their money to the cause which they love. These notices were not so written as to invite much attention from the friends of the French revolution, but they seem to have excited a great deal of alarm in its enemies. Dr. Maxwell, from some threats, was induced to leave his house before the hour appointed for the meeting ; and the few gentlemen, who came there at two o'clock, were received by the shouts and hootings of a mob, stationed before his house. At three o'clock, a gentleman, called Colonel Glover, replied from the parlour-window, to all visitors who knocked at Dr. Maxwell's door, that Dr. Maxwell was not there. They went away, and the mob offered to them what insolence they dared, but without touching their persons. Dr. Maxwell's name was raced from the door.

" It is difficult to offer any positive opinion as to this affair. We know nothing of Dr. Maxwell, of his respectability, or

posed a label, entitled, "*Plan pour un monastere, dans Black friars à Londres.*" Underneath are the following lines :

" The priests, inflam'd with righteous hopes,
Prepare their axes, wheels, and ropes,
To bend the stiff-neck'd sinner ;
But should they sink in coming over,
Old Nick may fith 'twixt France and Dover,
And catch a glorious dinner."

This conclusion, though illiberal, is natural towards an oppressor, and betrays the sentiments of those days ; our motto should be in this enlightened period,

" *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis :*"

which, paraphrased in Hogarth's rhyme, is as follows :

" Now what a strange reverse we see,
In zealots fierce for popery,
Who cross the sea once more ;
The murder they themselves have shown,
Turn'd 'gainst the pulpit and the throne,
They fly to Briton's shore.
Pard'ning their former savage will,
We now requite them, good for ill,
Observing Heaven's decree ;
Oh may the priests from henceforth teach,
The mild forbearance that we preach,
And serve humanity."

his connections; but, if a man cannot invite to his own house whom he pleases, with the view of subscribing money for any nation not at war with the British people, there is an end of civil liberty in this country. Political liberty it cannot be pretended there is, while the people are not truly represented; but civil liberty, we had always thought, was enjoyed here in a greater degree than had been planned for any people, before the year 1789."

The primary assemblies of France met on Sunday the 26th of August all over the kingdom, and nothing is more simple than their forms. Paris, for instance, is divided into districts, and these again subdivided, so as that the neighbours shall every where meet to the amount of 650 and no more in each place. There are, consequently, as many places of meeting as there are 650's to vote. Every 650 voters chuse six electors, and they do this one by one. Each assembly may consist of fewer than this number, that is, of 450, but it cannot consist of more than 650; and they chuse one elector for the first 100; two, if the number be from 150 to 250; three, if from 250 to 350, and so on up to 650. But if the numbers in any one appointed division are more than 650, they divide into two assemblies, and chuse electors in proportion. In this way the whole electoral body are chosen without riot or confusion, and without possibility of any one man's voting in two places in less than one week. They are all neighbours, and they all know one another.

Mr. Thomas Paine, author of the Rights of Man, was chosen a member of the national convention by the electoral assembly of the department of the Pas du Calais; and Mr. Priestley (*see page 163*) was elected for the department of Orne. Mr. Paine was also elected for the department of Oise.

TO MR. SECRETARY DUNDAS.

"SIR,

Calais, September 15, 1792.

"I conceive it necessary to make you acquainted with the following circumstances. The department of Calais having elected me a member of the National Convention of France, I sat off from London the 13th instant, in company with Mr. Frost, of Spring Gardens, and Mr. Audibert, one of the municipal officers of Calais, who brought me the certificate of my being elected. We had not arrived more, I believe, than five minutes at the York hotel, at Dover, than the train of circumstances began that I am going to relate. We had taken our baggage out of the carriage and put it into a room, into which we went. Mr. Frost having occasion to go out, was stopt in the passage by a gentleman, who told him, he must return into

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the room, which he did, and the gentleman came in with him and shut the door: I had remained in the room. Mr. Audibert was gone to inquire when the packet was to sail. The gentleman then said, that he was collector of the customs, and had an information against us, and must examine our baggage for prohibited articles. He produced his commission as collector. Mr. Frost demanded to see the information, which the collector refused to shew, and continued to refuse on every demand that we made. The collector then called in several other officers, and began, first, to search our pockets. He took from Mr. Audibert, who was then returned into the room, every thing he found in his pockets, and laid it on the table. He then searched Mr. Frost in the same manner, (who, among other things, had the keys of the trunks in his pocket,) and then did the same by me. Mr. Frost wanting to go out, mentioned it, and was going towards the door, on which the collector placed himself against the door, and said nobody should depart the room. After the keys had been taken from Mr. Frost (for I had given him the keys of my trunks before hand, for the purpose of his attending the baggage to the customs, if it should be necessary) the collector asked us to open the trunks, presenting us the keys for that purpose; this we declined to do unless he would produce his information, which he again refused. The collector then opened the trunks himself, and took out every paper and letter, sealed or unsealed. On our remonstrating with him on the bad policy, as well as the illegality of custom-house officers seizing papers and letters, which were things that did not come under their cognizance, he replied, that the proclamation gave him that authority.

“ Among the letters which he took out of my trunk were two sealed letters given unto my charge by the American minister at London, one of which was directed to the American minister at Paris; the other to a private gentleman; a letter from the President of the United States, and a letter from the secretary of state in America, both directed to me, and which I had received from the American minister now in London, and were private letters of friendship; a letter from the electoral body of the department of Calais, containing the notification of my being elected to the national convention; and a letter from the president of the National Assembly, informing me of my being also elected for the department of Oise.

“ As we found that all remonstrances with the collector on the bad policy and illegality of seizing papers and letters, and detaining our persons by force, under the pretence of searching for prohibited articles, were vain, (for he justified himself on the proclamation, and on the information which he refused to shew,)

shew,) we contented ourselves with assuring him, that what he was then doing, he would afterwards have to answer for, and left it to himself to do as he pleased.

"It appeared to us that the collector was acting under the direction of some other person or persons then in the hotel, but whom he did not choose we should see, or who did not choose to be seen by us; for the collector went several times out of the room for a few minutes, and was also called out several times.

"When the collector had taken what papers and letters he pleased out of the trunks, he proceeded to read them. The first letter he took up for this purpose was that from the president of the United States to me. While he was doing this, I said, that it was very extraordinary that general Washington could not write a letter of private friendship to me without its being subject to be read by a custom-house officer. Upon this Mr. Frost laid his hand over the face of the letter, and told the collector he should not read it, and took it from him. Mr. Frost then casting his eye on the concluding paragraph in the letter, said I will read this part to you, which he did—of which the following is an exact transcript: 'And as no one can feel a greater interest in the happiness of mankind than I do, it is the first wish of my heart, that the enlightened policy of the present age may diffuse to all men those blessings to which they are entitled, and lay the foundation of happiness to future generations.'

"As all the other letters and papers lay then on the table, the collector took them up, and was going out of the room with them. During the transactions already stated, I contented myself with observing what passed, but spoke but little; but on seeing the collector going out of the room with the letters, I told him that the papers and letters then in his hand, were either belonging to me, or entrusted to my charge, and that as I could not permit them to be out of my sight, I must insist on going with him.

"The collector then made a list of the letters and papers, and went out of the room, giving the letters and papers into the charge of one of the officers. He returned in a short time, and after some trifling conversation, chiefly about the proclamation; told us that he saw the proclamation was ill-founded, and asked if we choose to put the letters and papers into the trunk ourselves; which, as we had not taken them out, we declined doing, and he did it himself, and returned us the keys.

"In stating to you these matters, I make no complaint against the personal conduct of the collector, or of any of the officers; Their manner was as civil as such an extraordinary piece of business could admit of.

"My

"My chief motive in writing to you on this subject is, that you may take measures for preventing the like in future, not only as it concerns private individuals, but in order to prevent a renewal of those unpleasant consequences that have heretofore arisen between nations from circumstances equally as insignificant. I mention this only for myself; but as the interruption extended to two other gentlemen, it is probable that they, as individuals, will take some more effectual mode for redress.

"I am, Sir, yours, &c.

"THOMAS PAINE.

"P. S. Among the papers seized was a copy of the attorney-general's information against me for publishing the Rights of Man, and a printed proof copy of my letter to the addressers, which will soon be published."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CALAIS, SEPTEMBER 15.

"Mr. Thomas Paine, after a passage of three hours, arrived here yesterday from Dover. The different treatment he met with at the two sea-ports is such, as ought to make an Englishman blush for the character of his nation.

"On the name of Paine being announced, the soldiery at the gates were drawn up, and the officer on guard having embraced him, presented him with the national cockade. A very pretty woman, who stood by, desired she might have the honour of putting it in his hat, expressing her hopes that he would continue his exertions in favour of liberty, equality, and France.— This ceremony being over, he walked to Dessein's (whose street is now called Rue de l'Egalité, formerly Rue du Roi), attended by men, woman, and children, crowding round him, and calling out, 'Vive Thomas Paine!' He was then conducted to the town-hall, and there presented to the municipality, who, with the greatest affection, embraced their new representative. The mayor then addressed him in a short speech, which was interpreted to him by Mr. Audibert, to which Mr. Paine (laying his hand on his heart) replied, saying, his life should be devoted to their service.

"At the inn he was waited upon by the different persons in authority, and by the president of the Constitutional Society, desiring he would attend their meeting of that night. The whole town would have been there had there been room; the hall of the Minimes was so crowded, that it was with difficulty they made way for him to the side of the president. Over the chair he sat in was placed the bust of Mirabeau, and the colours of France, England, and America, united. A speaker acquainted

quainted him, from the tribune, of his election, amidst the plaudits of the people. The women did not spare their hands, and for some minutes, nothing was heard but "*Vive La Nation, Vive Thomas Paine!*" in voices male and female. They have appointed an extra meeting in the church to-morrow, in honour of their deputy to the convention, the Minimes being found quite suffocating, from the concourse of people who attended yesterday. To-night there is to be a play, at which a box is to be reserved for the author of the Rights of Man, the object of the English proclamation.

"Every thing here has the appearance of peace and quietness. The arsenals are well supplied, and are able to stand a two years siege.

"The Duke of Brunswick is still at Verdun; Dumourier and Kellerman have joined in his rear, and he is now surrounded by near a hundred thousand men.

"I am, &c."

"P. S. Mr. Paine has received a letter from the National Assembly, which he is said to be answering from hence. He will not probably be at Paris so soon as he thinks, since he has been elected for Abbeville and Bavais, as well as for Calais; and they will hardly let him pass without paying him some mark of their attention."

We present the following Letter of M. Audibert to our readers. They will be pleased to recollect, that Mr. Audibert was the gentleman appointed to introduce Mr. Paine to his foreign constituents:

"You desire to know the state of affairs in France, as the papers in the pay of government afford no certain intelligence, but rather endeavour to raise the prejudices of your nation against mine. I am happy to answer your questions.

"We are now as quiet as ever we were in the most profound peace. On the seat of war our friends are all busy, but without confusion. Paris is calm, Calais is quiet and agreeable, and many French and English families arrive there daily. If you have any desire to reside here, or travel through the country, you may do either with the greatest safety. This you may depend on. The news arrived this day is very favourable to the cause of liberty. The Austrians attacked Lille, and were repulsed with great loss. Thionville was also attacked, and the Prussian army twice driven back. The Prussians lost 550 men, among whom the Prince of Waldeck and two other German princes were killed, and many wounded. The combined forces attacked General Dumourier's army on three points at once, and were every where repulsed with loss. Three hundred thousand men are now marching to
annihilate

annihilate the despots and their satellites, and I doubt not, but before the campaign is finished, that desirable object will be accomplished;—Liberty must finally triumph throughout the world.

“ I went to London ten days ago, deputed by the electoral assembly to conduct hither Mr. Thomas Paine, (author of the Rights of Man,) who is chosen a member of the national convention. The ministerial party commissioned persons to pursue us to Dover, to insult us in a scandalous manner, and search all our papers. The custom-house officers, when reprimanded for their behaving so insolently, told us, they were commanded by people of high authority to do so. You will see this subject treated upon in the Argus of the Constitution, and the other patriotic papers. I have written to Mr. Dundas, and am determined to prosecute the custom-house officer, to determine publicly, whether ministers, or their creatures, are authorized by the laws of your country to maltreat any person who conducts himself peaceably and properly. At present you only possess the shadow of liberty, but I hope the time is not far distant, when we all shall not only be *nominally* but *actually* free.

“ I remain, with respect and esteem,

“ Your most obedient, and

“ Very humble servant,

“ ACHILLES AUDIBERT.”

“ Calais, Sept. 17, 1792.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

September 15.

The minister of foreign affairs sent the following letter to the assembly:

“ All the dispatches which I receive from Germany announce the event of a war with the empire as very near at hand.

“ The 4th. inst. the diet of Ratisbon was in daily expectation of the arrival of the Imperial commission from Vienna, inviting the princes of the empire to declare war against France. It is understood that the emperor will require a speedy determination on this question, and the usual delay of six weeks, required by the forms of proceeding, will not, on this occasion take place.

“ The negotiations respecting the quotas of troops have been for some time going on; and what is not the least remarkable circumstance in this business, the person who has the sole management of these negotiations is M. Knebel, the

the Hanoverian minister. He is actually employed in going from circle to circle for this purpose. He was on the 8th at the court of the Duke of Deux Ponts; but most probably from some other object, because the duke is not to furnish any quota to the army of the empire, the elector Palatine having bound himself by a particular treaty to take that business and expence upon himself.

“ The choice that has been made on this occasion of the minister of the electorate of Hanover, calls for the most serious attention of the National Assembly. — [*It seems to develope intentions and views which have some time been presumed.*]

“ Such of the German Princes as are powerful, speak their opinions of the French Revolution without mincing the matter, condemning it in the most unqualified terms. Those who are not strong are silent, and seem to wait for the decision of the others, to which they must conform. Of the latter description is the Duke of Wirtemberg, who makes no secret of declaring, that he will consider himself as bound to stand by the determination of the diet, be it for peace or for war.

“ Such, Sir, are the preliminary facts, which definitively announce, that we shall soon be at war with the German empire; indeed the conduct which the diet has already held towards Mr. Caillard, the minister from France to that body, might well be considered as the forerunner of a declaration of war; for it was signified to him on the 31st of August, that the diet could no longer receive or treat him as a public minister: and on the 2d instant, just two days after, the Austrian minister, Mr. Boirie, supported by the Prussian, and by a majority of the diet, caused a *conclusum* or resolution to be carried, declaring that Mr. Caillard was, if not a dangerous, at least a suspected person, and ordering him to quit Ratisbon. This resolution was communicated to all natives of France who had not been established in that city for a certain number of years.

“ M. Caillard did not wait to have such a resolution officially notified to him by the great marshal of the Empire; he screened himself from the insult by a timely departure.

“ I should add, that the court of Vienna is endeavouring to get all the French ministers to the various courts in Germany treated in the same way.

“ LE BRUN,
“ *Minister for foreign affairs.*”

A rumour reached the assembly, that general Dumourier had repulsed the enemy, who had left 4000 of their men dead in the field of battle. — A messenger was instantly dispatched to the

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minister at war, to learn the particulars of the action. He brought back the following note from the minister :

" Reports of the most flattering kind to general Dumourier are certainly in circulation ; I hope, and I have good ground for hoping, that they are not without foundation ; but as I had not received any official accounts on the subject, I did not think it proper to say any thing of the matter to the assembly. I consider, however, the very uncertainty as a good omen : For bad news always travels quickest.

" *SERVAN, minister at war.*"

Soon after arrived a letter from M. Billand to general La Bourdonnaye, dated 14th of September, at ten o'clock at night, from head quarters, at the camp at Grand Pré.

" Victory, general, victory ! A post carried, and the general of the enemy's army killed, after an action of near five hours.— The army is in an excess of joy, finding, that after having been on the point of breaking up our camp, and falling back to St. Menchould, we have gained a victory. After such good news, you surely will not refuse to send us all the troops you can spare, to enable us to make the most of our advantage."

A note was next brought from the minister at war, in which he stated, that he had not yet received any dispatches from the commander of the victorious army ; but as M. Billand's letter had been transmitted to him by general La Bourdonnaye, he had not a doubt but the French army had gained some considerable advantage.

This had scarcely been read, when another letter was brought from the same minister, stating, that he had just received dispatches from general Dumourier, confirming the account that the enemy had been repulsed with loss, and their general killed, and enclosing the following letter from lieutenant-general Chazot, dated 14th September, at eleven o'clock in the morning :—

" MY DEAR GENERAL,

" After having been greatly successful, I have been just now compelled to retreat by forces infinitely superior in number to mine. I thought at first that the enemy were without cannon ; but in about an hour after the action began, they convinced me of the contrary ; for they had a train even of heavy artillery and howitzers ; but exclusively of this circumstance, 5000 men could not be a match for 10,000 or 12,000. We have lost some few men of both armies, and have about 20 wounded. The loss of the enemy must have been considerable.

" Thus you see, my dear general, that what I dreaded has come to pass. We shall be more fortunate another time. I feel

feel it a duty to speak in the highest terms of the bravery of my troops. I am now retreating to Vouzier; and I believe it is of consequence that I retain that position, without neglecting, however, to send succours to general Dubouquet, should circumstances require them: In the mean time I wait the arrival of general Beurnonville, and your further orders."

The minister at war's letter then goes on:—"The National Assembly will perceive that it was not possible for general Chazot's troops to behave with more bravery, and that their commander is entitled to the gratitude of his country, for his conduct on this occasion. General Dumourier has sent me accounts of the dispositions made by him, for preventing the enemy from penetrating farther into the country; and of the orders given by him to the different detached posts of his army, for forming a junction as well with those under his own immediate command, as with those under general Kellerman, who had marched to cover Chalons and Rheims. I am of opinion, from the accounts which I have received from several able generals, that our troops actually occupy the ground where French generals have once already been able, with an inferior force, to stop for a whole campaign a greatly superior enemy, who was endeavouring to reach Paris. The place I mean is Snippe.—General Dumourier thus concludes his dispatches:—

"Our troops have fought extremely well; the Austrians have suffered much; but the loss on our side is but trifling.—Prince Charles de Ligne is killed. We have taken prisoner one of the King of Prussia's secretaries, who was carrying dispatches to the Duke of Brunswick; I will send you the letters found upon him, as soon as they are translated."

A letter from the magistrates of Thionville to the administrators of the department of the Moselle was read:—"Your dispatches (say the former) afford us more encouragement than hope: the people cannot bring themselves to believe, that at a time when general Kellerman is turning his back upon us for the purpose of covering Paris, that city will send 60,000 men to our relief. We transmit you copies of the two summonses sent to us by the enemy, and of the answers which we returned to them. Our answer to their second displeased the Prussians so much, that the next night they almost overwhelmed us with bombs, which were thrown with the most rapid succession; they brought their great guns within twice the distance of musket shot of our palisades. Our fire was as brisk as theirs. After all we had only two men killed, and five or six wounded. The Prussians had a considerable number killed; among whom were seven officers of distinction. The famous Prince of Nassau-Siegen had an arm shot off. The wounded filled half a dozen wag-

gons. We occasionally make *sorties* to cover the supplies of cattle sent to our relief, and secure their entry into the town.—Yesterday general Felix Wimpfin, our governor, would certainly have carried one of the posts belonging to the emigrants, and commanded by general Count d'Autichamp, if he had had about 200 more horse. He had only 50. We ought to have at least two squadrons more, and a reinforcement of 1000 foot; for our garrison is absolutely incapable of manning all the works forming the immense front of our fortifications."

M. Merlin, who is a native of Thionville, moved, that two battalions of Paris volunteers, and a regiment of horse, should be immediately dispatched to reinforce the above garrison. The assembly referred the subject matter of the motion to the executive power.

September 16.

The minister for foreign affairs sent the following letter to the assembly:

"M. President, I informed the assembly yesterday morning of certain circumstances which indicated that we should soon be involved in a war with the German Empire. I am now informed of it officially by dispatches. The decree of the commission has just appeared. A translation of it is now making in my office. In the mean time I send you an abstract of eight articles which it contains:

"His Imperial Majesty expects that the diet will deliberate on the following points:

"1. That in return for the hostile eruptions already made by France into the territory of the Empire, a declaration of war against France be immediately made, in the name of the Emperor and Empire.

"2. That the treaty of Munster be no longer considered as binding, as far as it relates to the cession of territory made to France.

"3. That it be taken into consideration, whether a treble quota of troops should not be furnished to serve against France.

"4. That it be equally considered what are the best means of establishing a fund for carrying on the war.

"5. That all the subjects of the Empire in the civil or military service of France be called home.

"6. That the exportation of arms or military stores to France be prohibited.

"7. That it be also taken into consideration what steps may be necessary to take respecting trade with France.

"8. That

" 8. That it be likewise considered, whether it be not proper to declare, that no part or member of the Empire shall be suffered on this occasion to remain neuter.

" Such are the measures proposed to the Empire by the Emperor; all the ministers have already received their instructions on this head. There is no doubt but what the Emperor proposes will *soon* be carried through the diet; but whatever degree of unanimity prevail, there will be considerable delays in the proceedings of such a body as the Empire. And the situation of the circles duly considered, I am of opinion that the Empire will not be able to give France any disturbance during the present year.

" LE BRUN,

" *Minister for foreign affairs.*"

WAR DECLARED AGAINST THE KING OF SARDINIA.

The minister for foreign affairs informed the assembly, that the executive-council had resolved, that war should be declared against the King of Sardinia; and that the protection openly granted by that Prince to French rebels, the insults offered to the ambassadors from France, and the various vexations to which every Frenchman, who was a friend to liberty, was exposed in his dominions, rendered such a step absolutely necessary.

It was resolved by the assembly, that the custody of the crown jewels, and other valuables, in the different palaces, had been intrusted only provisionally to the municipality of Paris; and that in future they should be under the care solely of the minister for the home department.

PRISONERS KILLED AT LYONS.

The minister for the home department sent a most melancholy detail of shocking proceedings, which had taken place at Lyons on the night of the 9th instant, where, notwithstanding the patriotic efforts of the magistrates to enforce obedience to the law, a set of furies, in the shape of men, had broke open the public prisons of that city, and killed all the prisoners.

The following letter from Messrs. Gossuin, Duhem, and Salengros, commissioners sent by the National Assembly to the army, was read:

Maubege, Sept. 14.

" We feel it our duty to inform the assembly of the situation of this town. The enemy in force advance as far as the glacis,
and

and pillage and plunder the adjacent villages. Neither the inhabitants or garrison have any confidence in the governor. The camp near Maubeuge has been too much weakened, whilst that of the enemy is daily encreasing in numbers."

M. Coustard informed the assembly, that various means were tried for raising the people of Paris, and driving them to madness. One way was by spreading a report yesterday, of a great victory obtained by general Dumourier, and this day of a defeat, in which that general was said to have been made prisoner. He said, that for the purpose of learning the truth or falsehood of these reports, he had by order of the extraordinary commission, repaired to the war-office, and there he heard that general Dumourier, whose force did not at the time exceed 26,000 men, had been attacked in three different quarters by an army of 60,000; that he repelled the enemy in two of these three attacks, but that the enemy had succeeded in the third, and broke through his lines. He found also, that by this time general Dumourier must be at the head of upwards of 80,000 men, viz. his own army of 26,000; general Kellerman's of 22,000; general Beurnonville's of 11,000, and 18,000 men from Paris, exclusively of eight battalions from the southern provinces. So reinforced, the superiority of numbers would be on his side; and if with 26,000 men he could withstand 60,000, there was every reason for presuming, that with 80,000 he would beat them.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM PARIS, SEPTEMBER 17.

"You will see, that by the accounts from Germany, from Spain and Sardinia, the French people find, that the coalition of the powers encreases to a degree the most formidable. The King of Great Britain, in his German character of Elector of Hanover, has not merely avowed his intentions of taking part with the two great courts, but has been most conspicuous and forward in engaging others to coalesce. His Hanoverian minister, as you will see officially notified to the assembly, has travelled over Germany to make converts to the cause of princes. The King of Spain has thrown off the flimsy disguise of neutrality, and has assuredly declared himself for hostilities. Sardinia, at the same time, has no longer occasion for jesuitism, but threatens determined war.

"The grand crusade of Kings against liberty, is now avowed; while the people of France are divided and weakened by their own enmities. Yet even thus "cowed of their better part of man"—they brave the field before the enemy. They have openly explained to all Europe the conduct of the Elector of Hanover

—and

—and they have declared war against the King of Sardinia. The federates of Marseilles have departed to guard the Pyrennian frontier against the Spaniards; and a plan for the invasion of Savoy is adopted, because they believe that the people there are ripe for revolt.

“ The general idea of the plan of the crusade against France is as follows :—

“ 1. The united armies of Prussia and Austria have no hope beyond the reduction of the northern departments, in which, if possible, they mean to plant themselves for the winter, not entering Paris, but holding the chief quarters of the camp at St. Denis.

“ 2. The whole of the southern frontier to be menaced, and held in check by Spain and Sardinia, while a diversion may be made by the Swiss Cantons.

“ 3. Thus invested to the south and north, England, for they cannot separate the King of England from the Elector of Hanover, is to threaten the departments opposite to the Channel, that the panic may be general; and thus assailed on all sides, the mediation of England is to be offered for the establishment of a limited monarchy.

“ Such is the report now circulating in France, with what probability of truth I have not the means of ascertaining—in the mean time, however, the armies of the Germans are so surrounded, and so nearly in contact with the French, that every day must produce skirmishes, and the sacrifice of many lives—if the French generals can repress their characteristic forwardness, and be content with the moderate victory of delay, the combined armies will be brought into a desperate situation; but I dread the French impetuosity.

“ The National Assembly, by means of its committee of correspondence, keeps up a direct intercourse with the sections; this is a grand master-piece of policy, which maintains public confidence, and saps the foundations of the monstrous authority of the provisional municipality; for such was the extent of the evil, that it would have been risking, in its infancy, the existence of the legislative body to have struggled with it closely.—This measure has already produced the happiest effects, and we hope to prepare for the national convention, days of tranquillity, and to make its authority be respected.

“ This convention will doubtless give a new impulse to the spirit of the public. It will, in general, be composed of staunch friends to liberty. If Paris gives us Robespierre and Marat, and if the departments send us Seyes, Condorcet, Brissot, Rabaut de St. Etienne, Petion, Banerc, de Vieuxrac, Merlin, the constituent Buzot, Velles, Vergniaud, Guadet, Genfonne, Guyton

ton de Morveaux, &c. all the constituents who are not corrupted by the intrigues of the revision, all the deputies who have not made an apology for the revolt of La Fayette, will be given us. A mass of light will burst forth upon us; we shall be inspired with courage, capable of facing every danger, and those intriguing minds, who have almost brought us to destruction, will there find shame and perhaps remorse. The opinion of the most intelligent men is, that they would be much more dangerous at home, than in a foreign country.

"With regard to the armies of our enemies, they will doubtless do us considerable injury, but no advantages will result to their chiefs. In my idea, it is almost impossible for them ever to penetrate to Paris. The Duke of Brunswick has committed an egregious blunder in his system. Had he marched the moment Longwy surrendered, our armies were disorganized; confusion and disorder every where prevailed; Fayette's troops were without a leader; terror and consternation would have preceded the Prussian general; he would have put to route our national guards; and would have, over their bodies, reached the plain of St. Denis. This opportunity is lost; Dumourier, at the head of 40,000 men, has established himself in an advantageous post. Kellerman, with 17,000 is ready to support him; and Labourdonaye and Beurnonville with excellent troops are not far distant. Reinforcements have been sent to Metz. The suspected commandants have been removed, and the aristocratic directors have been discharged, and others substituted in their room. Luckner, at Chalons, commands a body of reserve, which is increased every day by volunteers from Paris and the environs. The season is advancing, and has the appearance of soon becoming severe—these are the obstacles which in a few days have changed the face of affairs. In short, my dear friend, if this campaign passes without great misfortunes, as we have reason to hope, you may be assured, that we shall acquire sufficient strength before the next. I forgot to inform you, that 14 battalions, and a great many squadrons of the army of the south are advancing to reinforce Luckner, and cover Paris."

Hand-bills having been pasted on the walls in Paris, inviting the people to further massacre; the mayor immediately issued the following

**PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED BY THE MAYOR OF PARIS
TO HIS FELLOW-CITIZENS.**

"CITIZENS,

"At a moment when we have the greatest need of tranquillity, we are in the utmost agitation. Some people wish to sow division

division among us, whatever it may cost, and to set us at variance with each other. They endeavour to disseminate suspicion, to infill into the minds of the people the poison of calumny, and to disturb and harass them by the most alarming reports. They anticipate the most frightful events, in order to inspire ideas of them, and to excite the populace to commit crimes. This state of anxiety and agitation becomes insupportable; good-citizens lament it; and the peaceable think of seeking elsewhere that repose and tranquillity which they cannot find in the capital.

"Who among you has not heard the 20th of this month marked out as a day of vengeance and blood? This report has not been confined within the walls—it has been spread to the remotest parts of the kingdom.

"What then can be the intention of these disturbers of the public peace? To calumniate the people, and to drive from their residence at Paris, those deputies who are now assembling from all parts of France to the national convention. Could our enemies pursue means more favourable to their designs? Doubtless not. Be assured, therefore, that these enemies have agents here among us, concealed under the hypocritical mask of patriotism, who spread themselves every where around, in order to kindle up the flames of civil discord.

"Citizens! be on your guard; keep a watchful eye over these traitors; let us refrain from every kind of excess; let us respect persons and property; let us maintain good order; war against tyrants, and union among ourselves; let Paris be the cradle of liberty; let it also be a safe and sure asylum; suffer the inhabitants to remain in it; suffer strangers also to visit it; the poor will then be able to live; commerce will flourish; abundance will return; and Paris will become the first city in the world.

(Signed) "PETION."

REPORT OF THE MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
PRESENTED TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, RESPECT-
ING THE ORDER GIVEN TO THE FRENCH TROOPS
TO ENTER SARDINIA.

"M. PRESIDENT,

"I come, in the name of the provisional executive-council, to give an account to the National Assembly of the measures, which the honour and safety of the State have obliged us to pursue against the King of Sardinia.

○ ○ ○

"This

" This Prince, gentlemen, has for a long time been provoking us to employ these measures; for a long time he has, like other kings, paid a tribute of hatred and malevolence to the French revolution. The court of Turin was the first asylum of those great criminals, whom the vengeance of the people so justly followed; there was the first focus of their base conspiracies formed; and thence issued the first hordes of armed rebels, who have since encreased and infested the shores of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Scheldt.

" It would be only amusing the assembly with needless details were I to trace out the multiplied injuries which the French have sustained for the three last years from the Sardinian government; we have not even thought it necessary, gentlemen, to submit to your examination the formal proposal for making war on a Prince, who, in respect to us, has violated all rights, treaties, and agreements.

" We will carry on war against him in an open and manly manner, but the guilt of that war will fall upon him alone.— He himself, indeed, declared war against us the day when he dared to insult the Majesty of the French nation in the person of our ambassador, arrested on the most frivolous and odious pretences on the frontiers of the kingdom, open on all sides to our enemies.

" He declared war against us when, notwithstanding the express tenor of ancient treaties, he filled with troops the fortress of Montmelian, and encreased his hostile preparations in Savoy.

" He declared war against us when he acceded to the impious league of tyrants, when he invited the Austrian cohorts into his territories, and ordered an encampment to be traced out for them near his capital.

" It is worthy of remark, gentlemen, that when the court of Turin was proceeding to such excesses against us, it had not even the events of the 10th of August, a day which, by banishing the remains of that charm which is still attached to the name of King, laid among us the solid basis of empire, liberty and equality, to serve as a pretence for its conduct.

" If that day did not give us a new enemy in the King of Sardinia, it at least supplied fresh fuel to his hatred. When an account of the events of that day reached Turin, a council, or sort of congress, was held, for the purpose of deliberating on the measures necessary to be adopted in regard to France. The question whether or not it would be proper to attack us, was long debated in that council, and though the result of the deliberation was to suspend that extremity, and to be contented with acting a passive part; we ought not to suffer ourselves to be

be the victims of illusion. It was not inclination, but strength, that was wanting to our enemy; his rage is not allayed, it is only feeble, and we have reason to be apprehensive, that if we allow him time to augment his resources, he will some day carry fire and the sword into the southern departments.

“Gentlemen, a nation may be placed in such circumstances, that the only method of defending itself with advantage, is to act on the offensive. Such are those, under which we are at present, in regard to the King of Sardinia. By paying respect to his apparent and perfidious neutrality, we should only lose the service of a fine army, which may be usefully employed, while that Prince, in concert with our enemies, might, every moment, unite his forces to theirs by his Italian States; put them in possession of the important passages of the Alps; and overawe us until a favourable opportunity might occur of falling upon us with more hopes of success.

“Under these circumstances, gentlemen, you will doubtless agree that we have only one course to take—that of forcing to combat that enemy who wishes to lull us asleep by a pretended appearance of inactivity. This is the determination of the provisional executive council.

“In virtue of your decree of the 16th of July last, which authorizes to repel, by the force of arms, every declared enemy who may be in a state of actual hostility against the French nation, the commander of the armies of the south had already made dispositions for entering Savoy, and only waited for a formal order, which we transmitted to him on the 8th of this month. All those subsidiary means which are likely to ensure the success of this measure, have been pursued by the executive power. Formidable diversions will second the effort of our arms, and before winter we shall probably make the Alps a barrier between Frenchmen, the sons of liberty, and the tyrants of Italy.”

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

September 17.

M. Roland, minister for the home department informed the assembly, that in the course of the last night, between the hours of two and three, a set of desperate ruffians, to the number of thirty or forty, had robbed the jewel-office in the Gards Meuble Nationale. Two of these villains had been arrested, but the rest had carried away the diamonds, and the most valuable part of the national property. A patrol of ten men posted at the Convent des Feuillans pursued them, but they were not able to attack

tack them, as they were much more numerous and better armed. Referred to the committee of domains.

The procureur-general of the department of the Lower Seine sent to the assembly the form of the oath, taken by the deputies, chosen in that department to the national convention.

This oath was as follows :

" I swear to maintain liberty and equality, or to die in defence of them. I swear that I will maintain the unity of the French Empire ; to give it a constitution which may not fetter its sovereignty ; to create no power that may attack its sovereignty ; to hazard my life for the safety of persons and property ; to exert myself in promoting agriculture and commerce ; and I devote myself to infamy if I quit the national convention."—[*Applauded.*]

The minister for the home department returned to the assembly, and informed them, that the two thieves who had been arrested, gave such answers to the questions put to them, as plainly indicated that they were connected with people of some rank.—He said, they had mentioned several persons as their accomplices. After giving this information, the minister said,

" Gentlemen, this crime is connected with others which are now in agitation. The bulk of the people at Paris are at present quiet, but attempts are made to agitate them, and to inspire them with gloomy terror. False reports of victories and defeats are every day spread. Enthusiastic declaimers incite them to murder ; and some of these declamations are even made in the electoral assembly of Paris. The agents of government are vilified—they cry out that the axe is still lifted up—they speak of the Agrarian law, and of an equal division of property ; and they threaten to put to death all those deputies who voted for La Fayette.

" The robbery which has been committed in the jewel-office will furnish enough to pay for a long time the partizans of this system of rapine, murder, and proscription.

" Gentlemen, I told you ten days ago, and under the present circumstances days are equal to ages, our internal enemies have no strength but in their audacity : Let the good citizens only rise for one moment, and the bad citizens will be annihilated. If the National Assembly assume their proper powers they will save Paris and France from being torn to pieces."

A motion being made that the report of the minister should be referred to a committee, the president reminded the assembly of the oath they had taken to maintain the sovereignty of the people. He exhorted them to support their own dignity ; to pursue vigorous measures against the disturbers of the public peace ;

peace; and to employ every act of persuasion to keep the citizens and sections of Paris to their duty.

The assembly decreed, that a proclamation should immediately be issued, recommending tranquillity, and that it should be communicated to the sections.

The president announced the following

LETTER FROM THE MINISTER AT WAR.

“ M. PRESIDENT,

“ I have received a letter from marshal Luckner, dated yesterday, at Chalons, and I learn with astonishment, that of three battalions whom he ordered to join the army of general Dumourier, one only obeyed. The marshal says, that the evening before some fugitive carters and futtlers from the army came and reported at Chalons, that Dumourier had been defeated, and that his advanced guard, commanded by M. Dillon, had been cut to pieces.

“ This report occasioned great consternation at Chalons, the panic terror which it excited was evidently spread by the enemies of the constitution. General Dumourier, it is true, had raised his camp at Grandpré; and his rear guard sustained some loss in their march; but it is false that his advanced guard, as the carters and futtlers reported, experienced any loss, for its march, which was effected in good order, suffered no interruption.

“ Generals Dillon and Beurnonville have not been attacked. Kellerman has now joined Dumourier: They cover Chalons and Paris. We have nothing to fear but from want of discipline.—To prevent this evil, the National Assembly ought to issue a proclamation to the army. I must add, that if the news received from the army of M. Dumourier are not entirely satisfactory, those from the army of the north are more agreeable. Marshal O'Moran has driven the enemy from Condé, and he writes me word, that he hopes soon to drive them from the frontiers entirely.—The citizens of Valenciennes have made a successful sally against a body of the enemy who were ravaging the environs. If we remain calm and firm, the cause of liberty will triumph in the present struggle of freemen against tyrants.”

The president also announced the following

NOTE FROM THE SAME MINISTER.

“ An officer from general Dumourier's army has just now arrived. He left the army at eleven o'clock at night, on the 15th, and brings details of that day. The army had arrived, and was re-united at Brand. The minds of the soldiers were calmed, and good order was re-established. The fugitives have been arrested and put in irons.”

M. Jean

M. Jean de Brye read the following letter, which appeared to the extraordinary commission to merit the attention of the assembly:

LETTER FROM A FRENCH PATRIOT IN GERMANY.

COBLENTZ, Sept. 2.

"The fourth year of Liberty, and the first of Equality."

"I embrace the opportunity of a deserter, and have only time to tell you, that the dignity displayed by the city of Paris since that memorable day the 10th of August, has lengthened by one quarter the visages of our *ci-devant*. Nothing has transpired respecting the campaign of Brunswick; but I know beyond a doubt, that our generous Princes, as a last resource, intend to hire ruffians to attempt an insurrection at Paris, and to assassinate the *heretofore* royal family. Should this misfortune happen, our country is ruined. It will certainly become a prey to all the powers of Europe, and even England will throw aside the mask. Take advantage of my advice; write to the people of Paris, and tell them to be on their guard against emissaries; bid them carefully keep their hostages till the national convention determine respecting their fate and *ça-ira*.

"I dare not send you my address. Every thing that comes from or goes to France is watched in the strictest manner possible. Your friend,
A. L."

A member said, "I know the author of this letter; I can attest the authenticity of the signature, and I can affirm that the writer of it is a staunch patriot."—The assembly ordered it to be printed.

The minister of war appeared at the bar, and read the following letter from general Dumourier, dated yesterday evening:

LETTER FROM GENERAL DUMOURIER.

"Be under no uneasiness. The enemy contented themselves with collecting the fruits of the blunder of our army. This blunder is at present known. The army have testified to me the happiest confidence. The soldiers are in good order, and display great courage. What happened was not a retreat; it was the flight of 10,000 men before 1500. Had these 1500 pushed their point, they would have routed the whole army. This will not happen again. Beurnonville has joined me with 10,000 men. I can still answer for the safety of my country. I am going to inflict severe punishment; and I shall send you back the battalions who abandoned their guns. I would

rather have 10,000 men less, and have no cowards with me. I have already disarmed, and driven from the camp, fourteen fugitives. I shall do the same with regard to certain officers. This army must be cleared of bad soldiers before it can be made worthy to support the cause of liberty.

(Signed) "DUMOURIER."

The assembly ordered this letter to be printed and posted up.

M. Lafource read a letter from M. de Mahe, a general officer, written to M. Moreton, commandant on the northern frontiers. M. de Mahe had sent a lieutenant-colonel of the 74th regiment, to dislodge in the night time an Austrian post at the distance of a league from Orchie.

This officer succeeded in his enterprise, he put the enemy to flight, killed 20 of their men, and took 23 prisoners; he likewise took five horses, and stopped a waggon with an officer of engineers.

M. Kerfaint moved, that the commons of Paris might be charged, under the pain of losing their heads, to provide for the safety of all persons detained in the prisons of Paris.

M. Vergniaux—"The extraordinary commission and the committee of safety, have already concerted together; but there are still a great number of pieces to be examined. The report cannot be given in until to-morrow, perhaps not till the evening sitting; and it is of the utmost importance not to retard precautions. Were the people the only objects of our fear, I would say, that we had every thing to hope, for the people are just and abhor crimes. But there are here emissaries from Coblenz, ruffians hired to disseminate discord, to spread consternation and precipitate us into anarchy (*applause*.) These emissaries shuddered at the friendly steps you pursued in regard to the sections, and at the success which attended them. They shuddered at the oath which the citizens took to protect with all their might persons and property, and the execution of the law; and they shuddered at the federation, which they formed to give efficacy to their oath. Their language then was, "they wish to put an end to proscription, they wish to tear our victims from us, they will not permit us to assassinate them in the arms of their wives and children. Let us then have recourse to mandates of arrestation. Let us accuse, arrest, and drag to prison those whom we wish to destroy; we will then excite the fury of the people, we will let loose our assassins, and we will convert the prisons into shambles for human flesh, where we can at our pleasure satiate our thirst for blood, (*unanimous and repeated applause from the assembly and galleries*.) And do you know, gentlemen, how these men, who imagine that the revolution was made for them, and who foolishly think that Louis XVI.

was

was sent to the Temple, that they might be enthroned at the Thuilleries, dispose of the liberty of the citizens (*applauses.*)

“Do you know how the mandates of arrestation are decreed? The commons of Paris, in this respect, trust to the committee of safety. This committee of safety, by an abuse of all principle, or through a very foolish confidence, give to individuals the terrible right of arresting those who appear to them to be suspected persons. The latter delegate this power to other myrmidons, whose vengeance they must support, if they wish for support to their own. Upon such a strange series do the lives and liberties of the citizens depend. To such hands is the public safety committed. The blinded Parisians, however, dare to call themselves free. Alas! they are, it is true, no longer slaves to crowned tyrants, but they are slaves to the meanest of mankind—to the most detestable villains (*new applauses.*) It is time to break these shameful chains, to crush this new tyranny; it is time that those who have made good men tremble, should themselves tremble in their turn. I am well aware, that they have poignards at command. On the night of the second of September, on that night of proscription, did they not wish to direct them against several deputies as well as against me? Have they not denounced us to the people as traitors? Luckily for us, there were none there but people; the assassins were employed somewhere else. The voice of calumny produced no effect; mine can still be heard here; and I now solemnly declare, that it will never cease to thunder, with all its force, against crimes and tyrants. What are poignards and assassins, or what are the lives of the representatives of the people, when their liberty is in danger? When William Tell was adjusting the arrow which was to pierce the fatal apple, placed by a monster on the head of his son, he exclaimed, ‘May my name and memory perish, provided Switzerland be free.’ (*Applauses.*)

“And let us also say, may the National Assembly and its remembrance perish, provided France be free! [*Here the Assembly rose up unanimously, and exclaimed—“Yes, yes; let the very remembrance of us perish, provided France be free!”—The galleries rose up at the same time, and answered by their applauses to this movement of the Assembly.*] May the National Assembly, and the remembrance of it perish, if it spare a crime which would fix an indelible stain on the French name, if it can shew, by its vigour, to the nations of Europe, that, notwithstanding the calumnies with which our enemies wish to tarnish the glory of France, there is still, even during the momentary anarchy into which we are plunged by russians, some public virtue in France, and that humanity is there still respected! May the National Assembly, and the remembrance of it perish, if our more happy suc-

censors

cessors can establish upon our ashes, the edifice of a constitution which may secure the felicity of France, and consolidate the reign of liberty and equality!—I move, that the members of the commons may be made responsible with their heads for the safety of all the prisoners.” (*Applauses.*)

This motion was unanimously adopted.

M. Petion, at the head of several municipal officers, appeared at the bar, and after assuring the assembly, that he did every thing in his power to maintain tranquillity, said that it was not the people who ran from coffee-house to coffee-house, exciting disorder, but ruffians, who concealed themselves under the mask of patriotism. He added, that he had visited all the prisons; that the people had promised that the laws should be respected; and that he had given the necessary orders to the commandant-general for the preservation of peace.

M. Santerre, the commandant, assured the assembly, that the orders of the mayor had been strictly executed.

September 18.

M. Servan, the minister of war, transmitted the following Bulletin of the armies :

“ M. Dumourier was attacked on the 16th. The enemy were repulsed with loss. He thinks he shall again be attacked on the 18th. The army burn with a desire of combating. On the 17th Kellerman was at the distance of six leagues from Dumourier—he had been ordered to march.

“ Beurnonville’s army is composed of 11,000 men, and seven complete battalions. All these troops may be considered as having joined, and consequently as in a state to make head against the enemy.

“ The dispatches from the army of the Rhine contain nothing interesting.

“ The works at the camp of Chalons proceed with vigour. As discipline is established in the camp, we have now a respectable force to oppose that of our enemies.

Signed,

“ SERVAN.”

LONDON.

On Thursday the 20th day of September, the Imperial and Neapolitan ministers presented the following note to Lord Grenville, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs :

NOTE PRESENTED TO LORD GRENVILLE.

“ The undersigned envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary of his Imperial Apostolic Majesty, and of his Majesty

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jesty the King of the Two Sicilies, in consequence of the ties of blood and friendship which attach their sovereigns to the King and Queen of France, have the honour to address Lord Grenville to represent to him the imminent danger which threatens the lives of their most Christian Majesties and their royal family, and the apprehensions they have too much cause to entertain, that the atrocities which the factious in France practise against these august personages, will not cease until the crime is completed. They are authorized to express the wish of their respective courts, that his Britannic Majesty, in the event of such an horrible attempt, will not permit the residence, nor give any protection or asylum to those persons who may be known to have participated in such a step.

(Signed)

C^{TE}. STADION,

Sept. 20, 1792.

P^{NCE}. CASTELCICALA.

To which Lord Grenville returned the following answer next day :

LORD GRENVILLE'S ANSWER.

" The underwritten secretary of state to the King, in answer to the official note which he received yesterday from their excellencies Count de Stadion, minister plenipotentiary from his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, and the Prince de Castalcicala, envoy extraordinary from his Sicilian Majesty, has the honour to renew to those ministers the expression of the sincere interest which the King has always felt for every thing in which their Most Christian Majesties were personally concerned, and which cannot but have been encreased by the unfortunate circumstances of their majesties present situation.

" The King most ardently wishes, that the fears expressed in the note delivered by Count de Stadion and the Prince de Castalcicala may never be realized ; but should the contrary unfortunately happen, his majesty will not fail to take the most effectual steps for preventing those who shall have been guilty of so atrocious a crime, from finding any asylum in his dominions.

" It is with pleasure that the King gives this assurance to two sovereigns so nearly related to their Most Christian Majesties, and their family ; an assurance which his Majesty considers only as an immediate and necessary consequence of those principles which have always governed his conduct.

(Signed)

" GRENVILLE."

Whitehall, 21st Sept. 1792.

**BULLETIN OF THE COMBINED AUSTRIAN AND PRUSSIAN
ARMIES, PUBLISHED BY THEM AT RICHEMONT, DATED
THE SIXTH OF SEPTEMBER.**

“ A part of our troops have invested Thionville for some days: Yesterday the fortress was summoned by General Wallace twice, but M. Felix Wimpfen replied in the negative, in the name of the garrison.

“ To the first summons his answer was—‘ We are ignorant of that which has passed at Paris. The bourgeois and garrison of Thionville have not ceased a moment from being faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king. They solely depend, in respect to civil and military affairs, on the power established by the department, and therefore they cannot admit any orders but from it.’

“ To the second summons the answer was—‘ We lament with you the evils which are troubling France. We have not taken any part, or ever will, in the crimes which have blackened the annals of the revolution: But, in quality of French citizens, we are as little disposed to bend under the despotism you offer us; and the princes will know (all private considerations laid aside) that men of honour never lay down their arms on simple invitations, which are nothing more than threats.’

“ In consequence of these answers, at one the next morning the first bombardment took place.—The French answered it vigorously, and a number of Austrians and Prussians were killed and wounded, amongst the latter the Prince of Waldeck, major-general in the Emperor’s service, whose arm was carried away by a cannon ball.

“ M. de Wimpfen left the gates of the town open five hours, to give to every citizen the liberty of retiring, but not one of them would take advantage of this permission.

“ To-morrow the emigrants posted on the other side the Meuse will open a second grand attack; their artillery is already arrived for this purpose.

“ The three princes killed at Thionville, and in the other rencounters between the French and the Prussians, are the Prince of Waldeck, the Prince de Ligne, and the Prince of Nassau-Siegen.”

BRUSSELS, September 15.

“ Thionville is another Gibraltar; the Austrians constructed four large floating batteries, which they let fall down the Moselle; when opposite the town, they were received by a hot fire so well directed, that in a few minutes they were all sent down to the bottom, and every man on board perished. It has cost the

Austrians about 500 men to get possession of a hill which commands the town. On this place they erected eight batteries, which the garrison sallied forth and destroyed. General Querlande, who commands the siege, is tired of pouring hot balls into the town, and hopes only to reduce it by famine.—At Montmedy the French make as stout resistance; the commander, M. de Leigneville, has been displaced, and a quarter-master of artillery chosen in his stead; the garrison of Thionville have also deposed their commander. The resistance made by these places stops the army from advancing. The government publishes no account in the gazette of the operations in these sieges. Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes have all been reported to have been taken, but the accounts have proved false. The gazette of Liege of the 13th announces the march of 1500 Hanoverian horse. It is reported in the army, that the King of Prussia depends on 6000 foot and 2000 horse, promised him from Hanover: Several petty German states send also small supplies of troops, and many who do not furnish troops send cash.

BRUSSELS GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, SEPT. 18.

“ On the 11th the army under the command of General Count Clairfait, having quitted the camp of Romagne, went and took post on the heights which command Baricourt and Befancy—The head quarters were established at Nouart. A part of the Prussian army, which had been encamped in the environs of Cierges, made a movement almost in a parallel direction to that of the army of General Clairfait.

“ Next morning the two armies directed their march past Befancy, towards the posts occupied by the French troops, a detached body of whom engaged the Prussian column at the entrance of a wood. The Austrian army having then formed in order of battle, made some movements, during which the enemy disappeared, so that only a few picquets of hussars and chasseurs were able to engage in light skirmishes with the dragoons and advanced posts of the French army. The latter, however, attempting, towards evening, to fall back upon the right of our army, were prevented by a company of chasseurs, supported by cavalry, infantry, and artillery. The badness of the weather, and the darkness of the night, prevented any farther operations.

“ On the 14th, in the morning, M. Dumourier attacked us at the post of Roux-aux-Bois, with about 6000 men; but our troops defended themselves with their usual bravery, and that post having been reinforced by two battalions and two squadrons,

drons, the enemy were repulsed with considerable loss, and obliged to pass the river Aisne in the greatest disorder.

“The advantage which we may have gained by this affair, cannot compensate for the loss we sustained in the death of Prince Charles de Ligne, colonel of the engineers; whose excellent character, military talents, intrepidity, and great activity, make him justly regretted. Hurried on by the ardour of his zeal and courage, he marched forward with a few men only towards the enemy’s artillery and was killed by a bullet (*à cartache*) which unfortunately struck him.

“Our loss besides consists of four officers wounded, and 30 rank and file either killed or wounded.”

LUXEMBOURG, Sept. 9.

All the artillery of reserve belonging to the Prussian army, with all the covered waggons, and thirty-six pontoons which followed them to Verdun, have arrived here. We are not acquainted with the real motives of this disposition; but it is thought that the army, having no more sieges to undertake in order to penetrate into France, wished to be as free as possible from every incumbrance. A large train of battering artillery has however been sent off from this place to the camp at Thionville, together with bombs, mortars, and carcases. An attempt was first made to take this place without destroying it; but as that attempt did not succeed, it seems to be resolved to reduce it to a heap of ashes, and at any rate to get possession of it. It has already cost a great number of people, and wounded men are daily carried to the camp of the besiegers. The Prince of Waldeck, a major-general in the Imperial service, and sixteen French gentlemen, have been brought in wounded. The Prince of Waldeck was carried on a litter; he had his left arm shattered in such a manner by a cannon shot, that amputation was necessary; and it is apprehended that he must lose his life. The camp at Sedan, at present under the command of General Dumourier, has fallen back on Rheims in Champagne. That of Metz still exists. The King of Prussia’s army is partly near Verdun, and partly between Metz and Stenay. On the 6th, their head quarters were at Briey. General Clairfait continues to block up Montmedy. The proximity of so many troops makes provisions exceedingly dear. Every thing is bought up, and at any price, for the Imperial magazines, the camp at Thionville, that of the French emigrants, that of the Hessians, that at Montmedy, and lastly, for the grand Prussian army. An individual, who was said to be a forestaller of grain, has narrowly escaped with his life.

September 12.

We are informed from Clermont in Argonne, that a detachment of Prussian Hussars, consisting of a hundred men, having yesterday attempted to pass through a wood near that town, were suddenly surrounded by 900 French, who had concealed themselves among the bushes, with four pieces of cannon. On the first discharge forty of the hussars were killed upon the spot; the other sixty cut their way through the enemy with their sabres. A body of troops, sufficient to surround the wood, were instantly ordered to march, and succeeded so well in their enterprise, that not one of the French escaped; four hundred being killed and the rest taken prisoners. The Prussians lost only one man.

Part of the army of the Princes, having Monsieur and the Count D'Artois at their head, have quitted the camp of Hettange, near Thionville, to join the army of the Duke of Brunswick, near Verdun. The Prince de Hohenlohe has marched, for the same purpose, with a great part of the Austrian army under his command.

FRANKFORT, September 8.

The Swiss regiment of Steiner, which was in garrison at Landau, has quitted that fortress, and is marching to Switzerland.

The French envoy at Ratisbon has retired, it having been hinted to him that his commission was useless.

Six thousand Hanoverians, 1500 of whom are horse, have received orders to join the combined armies.

FROM THE BRUSSELS GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

BRUSSELS, September 14.

Intelligence from the army, under the command of the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, dated September 11.

Colonel Baron Mylius, who, with his body of troops, was hitherto posted behind La Lys, has advanced to Halluin, and has carried his out-posts as far as Tourcoin.

Colonel Keim, of the regiment of Bender, has abandoned the camp of Maulde, and taken an advantageous position at Sambre. He has disposed his advanced posts along the Scarpe; our troops now occupy Orchies, St. Amand, and Tourcoin.

On the 11th of this month, Major Montigny de Ligne, who commands at Lannoy, advanced with a strong patrol of infantry and cavalry, past Lanpanpont towards Fleers, where he attacked

tacked the out-posts of the enemy, and drove them as far as the gates of Lille.

The same day Major Count Hadic de Blanckenstein advanced with the patrol he commanded to Hellemmes, with a design of attacking the out-posts of the enemy, which were composed of a detachment of 50 national volunteers of the battalion de la Manche, 50 men of the regiment of Bourbon, 30 cuirassiers, and 25 hussars of Esterhazy; they had two sentinels on horseback before the village of Hellemmes, and two private sentinels placed at the entrance of it. As soon as the sentinels on horseback observed the Austrian hussars, they fired their pistols in the air and fled, upon which the whole French detachment, consisting of 155 men, betook themselves to flight with the utmost expedition; on the other side Major D'Aspre, with a squadron of Latour's light horse, Count De Spauer's company of Tyrolian chasseurs, and a division of the Wurtemberg regiment of infantry, advanced towards the bridge of Bouvignes, where he left his infantry, and continued to patrol past Lecquin toward Fache; he then formed between the two causeways which conduct from Lille towards Douay and towards Arras. In crossing the causeway of Douay, the major perceived at a distance, the rear guard of the battalion of the North, which had quitted the camp of Maulde, and which having gone first to Valenciennes, and afterwards to Douay, had taken from the latter the route towards Lille. He immediately ordered Lieutenant Du Croizet, who commanded the advanced guard, to endeavour to get before this battalion, while he himself should attack their main body. The Tyrolian chasseurs being advanced, the attack was commenced with great spirit, and at the same time Captain Baron de Vincent detached Lieutenant St. Quentin with a platoon, to fall upon the enemy in the flank, and Lieutenant Henriau with another, to harrafs their rear. Their confusion now became general, the dragoons cut to pieces 30 of them on the spot, and three officers and 86 common men were made prisoners; among the latter were 12 wounded.

All this happened under the cannon of Lille, which fired continually upon our people without doing them any hurt; for we had none either killed or wounded.

The whole troop on this occasion displayed the utmost courage and coolness. For the success of this affair we are indebted to the dispositions of Majors Hadic and D'Aspre, the good conduct of Captain Vincent, of the regiment Latour, Captain Spauer, of the Tyrolians, and Lieutenants St. Quentin, Henriau, and Du Croizet, who conducted their troops with the greatest bravery and skill.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

September 19.

The following letter from the minister at war was read :

" M. PRESIDENT,

" By dispatches from the army I am informed, that General Dumourier was attacked on the morning of the 17th in his post at Illettes, but that the enemy had been repulsed with loss; that he expected a second attack the next day, which he trusted would end in the same way, as he discovered in his troops an incredible ardour for an engagement.

" General Kellerman was on the 17th at night within 15 miles of General Dumourier, whom he hoped to be able to join the next day.

" Major General Beurnonville is also on his way to join him with a body of 11,000 men, exclusive of seven complete battalions, with which he has been reinforced on his march.

" Thus, Sir, will the French have a noble army to oppose the progress of the enemies of liberty and equality.

" My dispatches from the Rhine bring no interesting news.

" Fresh troops are daily arriving at the camp at Chalons; I hope that discipline will daily gain ground among them.

" The citizens who compose this camp will, no doubt, bear in mind, that the Romans, who in the *Forum* and meetings of the people were the most zealous advocates for liberty, were, when in camp, the foremost to acknowledge the necessity of strict discipline, and to give the strongest proofs of their ready submission. As liberty was the life of a State, so discipline was the very vital principle of an army. Our troops, I trust, are now convinced that the strength of an army does not arise so much from the number of its soldiers, as from their submission to the rules of discipline and obedience to their commanders.

" SERVAN,

" *Minister at War.*"

Advice was brought that the Austrians had not yet quitted the position they had taken before Maubeuge.

A member read a letter from a friend at Coblenz, assuring him, that the Emigrants and the Duke of Brunswick had emissaries in Paris, who had instructions to leave nothing unattempted to rouse the people, and produce a second insurrection. Their reason for wishing to occasion such a measure was, that they hoped the King and Royal Family might be murdered in the tumult, and that then all the courts of Europe would take part against France, in order to punish the authors of such an act.

act. The letter, therefore, cautioned all those who wished well to liberty, and did not wish to provoke a war with other powers, to watch over the Royal Family, and screen them from violence.

M. Lamarque, in the name of the Extraordinary Commission, presented the following

SKETCH OF AN ADDRESS TO THE VOLUNTEERS OF
CHALONS.

"SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS,

"You have sworn to exterminate tyrants, and have taken up arms for the defence of liberty. Will you then suffer the enemy to ravage the French empire, and to butcher our women and children? Your country has no need to excite your zeal: It is only excessive distrust and want of discipline that it entreats you to banish far from you. It is this which elevates the hopes of our enemies. It is this which gives them that insolence which they now assume. Remember that without discipline there can be no army, and consequently no victory.

"With discipline Rome triumphed over all the nations leagued against it. With discipline Alexander conquered Asia; and Turenne, with a handful of disciplined Frenchmen, checked the numerous armies of Austria. Repose confidence in your chiefs; turn a deaf ear to the insinuations of traitors; let this principle, *obedience to the laws*, be still before your eyes; kept firm to your post; thus shall you acquire the love of your comrades, and the esteem of the nations of Europe."—This address was adopted.

One of the secretaries read the following letter from the commandant of the garrison of Philippeville :

"The zeal of the garrison encreases daily, as danger approaches. To-day they have exhibited the utmost tranquillity and confidence. Yesterday they made the enemy tremble when they read a letter addressed to General Lanoue, which had been intercepted by the Prussians. In that letter we expressed our intention of making an obstinate resistance, and of sacrificing our lives on the ramparts. Yesterday morning about 5000 of the enemy were seen hovering round the place, but on our firing ten cannon shot at them they instantly retired."

M. Deperet, a member of the commission, ordered to examine the *Livre Rouge*, lately discovered by M. Servan, delivered in a report on that business. This red book contained memorandums of the sums taken from a private fund, formed of what formerly composed the treasury of liquidation, belonging to the regiments and the chancery of war. The ministers at war drew sums from this treasury, and applied the money to their own

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private

private uses, as they were not accountable to any person for what it contained. Messrs. Montbarrey, Puiseux, Choiseul-Gouffier, Saint-Germain, Latour-du-Pin, and all those who held that office have been speculators of this description. M. Deperet therefore moved, "that this fund should be transferred to the national treasury, and that all sums taken from it since the year 1777, agreeably to the memorandums found in the red book, should be restored by the ex-ministers."—Decreed.

The Assembly decreed, "that the effects and property belonging to the order of Malta should be sold in the same manner as other national property; that pensions, equal to the incomes formerly received by the members should continue to be paid them from the national treasury; that the insignia of that order should no longer be worn in France; and that the executive power should settle with the heads of that order the sum to be allowed by France for repairing the port of Malta, and as an indemnification for the aid which the commerce of France may receive from the ships of that island."

M. Dulauney, member of the general commission, whom the assembly had ordered to draw up a plan for insuring the safety of such members of the National Assembly as might not be returned to the National Convention, presented the following copy of an

ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"Perfidious emissaries endeavour to excite the vengeance of the people against those representatives who have manifested opinions which they ought to be allowed to declare freely, were they even erroneous or dangerous. It has been renounced, that the day when their functions cease is to be the day when this vengeance will burst forth.

"The National Assembly is far from believing that a good and just people have ever formed the idea of a system of confusion and assassination which would disgrace the revolution, bring an indelible stain on the French name, and for ever destroy national liberty and independence.

"It perceives, in this criminal project, certain signs of a correspondence between our internal enemies and those confederated tyrants, who hope to destroy, by the horrors of anarchy, that impulse which unites all the French in one common interest.

"It discovers there, traces of that system of disorganization which the horrid agents of Coblentz, Prussia, and Austria, still pursue with the most insolent audacity. It sees that the conspirators who wish to collect the scattered remains of despotism, and to prevent the meeting of the National Convention, have devised this plan of assassination for the purpose of spreading
terror

terror through the departments; of extinguishing public spirit by astonishment; and of checking the proceedings of the deputies by the terrors of those disorders and excesses with which they threaten the capital.

“ It is sensible that, of all perfidies, the most dangerous perhaps is that which tends to diminish the number of the defenders of the revolution, by rendering them odious, and by keeping at a distance from its support those weak and timid citizens, who do not declare their principles with the same fortitude as those bold and intrepid characters for whom liberty is every thing.

“ Under these circumstances, the National Assembly consider it as their duty to defeat these new plots, and to remind the people of those principles which are the sure protection of public and individual liberty.

“ Frenchmen, if every citizen has an equal right to the protection of the law, its influence ought to secure still more effectually the national representatives; for such is the character of inviolability affixed to them, and which they derive from the nature of things, that one single act of violence committed against them under the pretence of their opinion or political conduct being wrong, would shake the sacred foundation of liberty.

“ The representatives of the nation belong to the whole people—there could be no more liberty or equality if they depended upon any part whatever of the people, either that which resides in the same place with them, or that which chose them as its representative in the nation. An absolute and perfect liberty of opinion, and an inviolability extending to all times, and to all places, form the very essence of every representative constitution. Were not this the case, their votes would not be those of their judgment or of their consciences, but the result of policy or of fear. They would no longer express the general will of the citizens, but that of a collection of individuals, who, in one part of the French territories, might assume to themselves a momentary power.

“ Every nation where the character of representative is not sacred, is necessarily a nation without government and without laws; since the organs of the laws, those into whose hands the supreme power of the society is committed, cannot act according to their own will.

“ In times of insurrection, and when the people rise to oppose lawful resistance to tyranny and oppression, they may sometimes, when misled by enthusiasts for liberty, consider the activity of the laws as too slow for the purpose of establishing their safety; but the idea of crimes against their own repre-

representatives never could be inspired into their minds, but by the real enemies of the nation; by men who wish to dissolve those bonds which unite together all the portions of social organization, that they may deliver France, thus divided, to those who seek for its destruction; by men who wish that the national representation should be vilified in the eyes of citizens and strangers, and that every thing which it hath done, and might do, should be considered as the effects of violence by those who are desirous of preventing the consequences of the revolution of the 10th of August. Alas! who indeed will believe this revolution to have been the wish of the French people, if their representatives, who have sanctioned it, should appear to have acted only according to the impulse of one portion of that people?

“The new snare, however, which has been laid for you is too apparent to mislead you. You must be sensible that the smallest violence offered to the persons or property of your representatives, would furnish pretences to the enemies of liberty for annihilating every thing which may have, or might be done by any national representation. You must be sensible, therefore, that the decrees respecting religious disputes, the emigrants, the suppression of feudal rights, and the suspension of the king and the civil list; that the decrees, even of the Constituting Assembly respecting the abolition of tythes, the excise on salt and nobility; and all the laws, sanctioned by public opinion, would be annulled, because it might always be supposed, that the majority who passed them, did not enjoy absolute and perfect liberty: In short you must be sensible, that it would be destroying the confidence of those nations or individuals, who might wish to unite themselves to you, and to defend your cause; and that you would cease to form the real body of a nation, as there would be no citizen who could speak in your name, and stipulate for you, when he could no longer do it with perfect freedom.

“Frenchmen, all popular vengeance and all punishment, even of a public enemy, when it is not inflicted according to legal form, is murder: Instead of serving the cause of liberty, it can only injure it; and those who abandon themselves to such excesses, betray that cause which they think they are defending.

“It is only by respecting the law, persons, and property, and by preserving public tranquillity, that you can give vigour to your strength, and triumph over your numerous enemies; that you can render yourselves worthy the esteem of nations; and that you can prove to Europe, that you are not misled by factious men, and divided by contending parties; but that you are animated by a firm resolution to maintain liberty and equality, or to perish in their defence.”—This address was adopted.

M. Genfonnet

M. Genfonnet proposed the following

**LAW RESPECTING THE SAFETY OF CITIZENS, AND THE
GENERAL POLICE OF PARIS:**

"I. The asylum of every citizen shall be inviolable during the night. From sun-set to sun-rising no person can be arrested except for capital crimes, and no execution can take place without the presence of the justice of peace of that district.

"II. Should the above formalities be violated, every citizen may use such means of defence as he may have in his power, and those who make any attempts against his peace shall be punished as enemies to individual safety.

"III. In places where any legislative body are assembled, the alarm guns cannot be fired, nor the tocsin sounded, but by order of the National Assembly. Whoever violates this order, shall be punished as a disturber of public tranquillity."—Decreed.

The minister for foreign affairs presented to the assembly the preamble to the articles of a declaration of war proposed by the Emperor to the diet of Ratisbon, in which the Emperor, he said, pretended that, as France had attacked the empire, and injured the German Princes by suppressing their feudal rights in Lorrain and Alsace, both their interest and their glory required that they should adopt the measure which he had proposed.

M. Chavalier, who had been ordered to seize the moveables and effects of the emigrant princes, informed the assembly, that the members of the commons of Paris had carried away all the silver plate from these effects. The assembly decreed, "that those who had received the property should render an account."

M. Lasource moved, "that at three o'clock to-morrow afternoon the archivist of the assembly should convoke, in the hall of the Thuilleries, the deputies of the National Convention, in order that they might constitute themselves after having verified their powers."—Decreed.

M. Dumas. Your diplomatic military committee, in conjunction with the extraordinary commission, have turned their thoughts to the important object of an exchange of prisoners. It is difficult to establish a certain basis on this point, as it is not your intention to follow ancient errors. During the German wars there was a pecuniary tariff; the ransom of a lieutenant-general was 25,000 florins, and that of a captain only ten. There were other partial tariffs, according to difference of rank. A captain was exchanged for so many soldiers, and a general for a stated number of officers. You certainly would not wish that freemen should thus lose their dignity, and that what a soldier does by an union of physical and moral forces, should not be equivalent

equivalent to what may be done by another, who has more talents. You will likewise render the French more eager to combat. Notwithstanding all difficulties, we propose to establish an exchange on the principle of man for man, and rank for rank. Though it may be disagreeable to establish exchanges for money, the misfortune of war renders them, however, necessary; for the enemy may be more struck with a temporary advantage, than the benefit which may result to them by detaining a good officer. M. Dumas presented the sketch of a decree on this subject.

- M. Thuriot. I move that the ransom may be proportioned to the importance of the rank: We cannot give up a general officer like a common soldier.

M. Dubayet. Should we take General Brunswick, would we give him up so easily?—As for my part should that happen, I would make him pay all the expences of the war. I set a just value upon a free Frenchman, but the cartel must be *syllanagmatic*. Should General Dumourier be taken, he ought to be informed, that we would make any sacrifice to recover him. This proposition was adopted.

The decree proposed by M. Dumas, was adopted also in the following words:

"The National Assembly, considering the necessity of providing as speedily as possible, for an exchange of prisoners of war, and for releasing such of our brethren in arms; who, in combating for their country, may have fallen into the hands of the enemy.—Considering also, that the basis upon which the executive power, or the generals of armies may conclude treaties, conventions, or agreements, ought to be founded on the principles of liberty and equality, pass the following

DECREE RESPECTING THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

"I. There shall be no pecuniary tariff for the exchange, according to difference of rank, but in terms relative to the corresponding ranks in the armies of the enemy.

"II. There shall be no tariff of exchange, so that an officer or subaltern can be exchanged against a greater number of individuals of an inferior rank.

"III. The common basis of all exchanges, which no modification can alter, shall be to exchange man for man, and rank for rank."

September 20.

Read the following

LETTER FROM THE MINISTER OF WAR.

"M. PRESIDENT,

"Paris, September 20.

"I yesterday received dispatches from General Kellerman, and

and a letter from M. Beurnonville. I have not yet had official intelligence that the army of the latter had joined that of Dumourier before Dumourier had been attacked. I have, however, reason to hope that this junction had been effected. General Kellerman sent me a letter, dated head Quarters at Dampierre, Sept. 19th, two leagues distant from Dumourier, and makes no mention of that general having been attacked. Another letter, which I received from Chalons, is equally silent respecting any attack. On the other hand M. Beurnonville must have set out from Eure in order to join Dumourier. M. Beurnonville wrote me also on the 19th, that he was going to effect a junction in order to strike some great stroke in case of an attack. He added, that it would perhaps be a lucky thing for him, if he should be attacked; that his troops were fatigued, but well disposed for an engagement.

“By comparing all this intelligence, it appears to me, that M. Dumourier has not been attacked; that if he has, he has been able to make a good defence. Nothing, therefore, is necessary to save France, but to inspire our brave volunteers with a love for military discipline, and with that confidence in their generals, to which they are so well entitled.

(Signed)

“SERVAN.”

The letter was applauded.

The following letter was then read :

LETTER FROM M. PETION.

“Paris is quiet : The people begin to be no longer dupes to bills inviting them to anarchy, by continually speaking to them of liberty and sovereignty. The vigilance of good citizens is continually encreasing, and the conspirators will soon be obliged either to fly or conceal themselves. Each section has entered into an obligation to protect, with all its might, all those who reside within its boundaries. Should this spirit continue, our happiness is secured, and the reign of the laws will establish that of liberty and equality.

PETION.”

The assembly applauded this letter, and ordered it to be printed, and posted up in the capital.

The following letter was received from the minister at war :

LETTER FROM M. SERVAN.

“M. PRESIDENT,

“I have the honour of transmitting to you an extract from some dispatches just now received from M. Dumourier. This general after giving an account of the different events which have taken place in his army, and after assuring me that the small check which it experienced arose merely from a negligence,
very

very natural in troops among whom every kind of military discipline had been broken and dissolved, says, 'After what I have already done with a handful of men against a formidable army, you may judge that nothing is to be feared at present, when I am equal in force.' M. Dumourier indeed, must at this time have near 70,000 men collected, of whom more than 12,000 are cavalry. In giving me an account of the events of the 14th, he informs me, that when the fugitives join him, his loss will not exceed fifty men. 'The army,' adds he, 'has itself called for the punishment of traitors and cowards. I have already caused the heads of several paltrons and marauders to be shaven, and dismissed them without uniforms, which they are not worthy of wearing. It cannot be dissembled after what has passed, that there were in this army some men in the pay of the enemy. It was they, who by crying out *Let those save themselves who can—we are betrayed!* that threw the whole army into confusion.'

"M. Dumourier says, in a postscript, 'forty hussars of the second regiment *ci-devant* Chamboran, respecting whom I was uneasy, returned last night, bringing each back with them a horse taken from the enemy. The advanced guard of M. Duval took yesterday a lieutenant and twenty Prussian hussars of the regiment of Kauller. The same officer sent me word last night that his party were still bringing in more Prussians.'

"From all these facts, M. President, it appears to me, that our present situation is so much the more favourable, as our troops, wherever they have really combated, have displayed a resolution worthy of the highest praises.

(Signed)

"SERVAN.

"Minister at War."

M. Merlin. I can add to the details given by the minister a fact no less important. The reinforcement, destined for Thionville, has entered that place, and the enemy were not apprized of this event till seven hours after.

The extraordinary commission proposed the following decree, amidst the loudest applauses:

"I. M. Wimpfen, the troops of the line, and the volunteers who compose the garrison of Thionville, and the citizens of that town have honourably discharged their duty.

"II. An extract from the *proces-verbal* shall be addressed to them; to the 83 departments, and to the army; and also to the three hussars, who, while the enemy were investing the town, were not afraid to brave the danger which threatened them, and carried to the place of their destination some dispatches entrusted

to their care. The executive power is ordered to devise some mode of rewarding and promoting these brave hussars.

“ III. A fund shall be committed to the disposal of the minister at war for erecting barracks at Thionville.”—Decreed.

M. Servan communicated the contents of a letter received from General Dumourier. The general allowed that he had been exposed to great danger, but that he had luckily made an honourable and safe retreat. Tranquillity was re-established, and the traitors who cried out ‘ *treachery*,’ were arrested and conducted to Paris.

A letter from the commissioners of the northern army stated, that 18,000 Austrians were encamped between Lille, Maubeuge, and Valenciennes; that, not being sufficiently strong to undertake a regular siege, they intended to bombard these three towns at the same time.

A copy of a proclamation was read, that had been published in the camp at Chalons, by General Dumourier, in which that general upbraids the volunteers with having received with kindness and attention the cowards belonging to the rear of his army, who had basely fled before a small party of the enemy, and declares, that it was not by such men the military honour of France was to be supported. “ Fellow soldiers, (says he,) be free as air; but be not licentious. If you wish to join the army under my command, bring with you confidence in your generals, and that spirit of wisdom and bravery which alone is suited to circumstances like the present, and to the noble object for which we are contending. I tell you before-hand I dread not the spirit of mutineers; and that I will send such of them as have already shewn themselves under a strong escort to Paris. Those enemies, which your cowards represent to you in so formidable a light, are worn out with fatigue, sickness, and disgust. The farther they advance on our territory the more certain will be their destruction. Lose not, through blindness, the golden opportunity which is now held out to France. The word which I give you is ‘ *confidence*,’ if it be not engraved upon your hearts come not to us, for we will not receive you.”

The assembly ordered that this proclamation be printed and sent to every corps in the army.

The following advices from the army were read:

September 16, 17.

The enemy, who are at Clermont, cannot penetrate farther in this part, on account of the quarter of Bienne, which is well defended; and the advanced guard will stop them in their march to Villiers. They are directing their course towards Vouziers; and their plan seems to be to advance to Soissons, leaving Rheims on their left.

CHALONS, September 17.

Beurnonville's army arrived yesterday at eight in the morning. There are at least 10,000 volunteers in camp, and in the town. Kellerman is at Vitry: In two days his army will join that of Dumourier; who, notwithstanding the check he received, is before Saint Menchoulde. He writes that he has nothing to fear.

ARMY OF THE CENTRE, September 17.

The eyes of all France are fixed upon Chalons, Rheims, and Sainte Menchoulde—one might say that a victory or defeat in the plains of Champagne, ought to decide the fate of France. Every thing gives us reason to hope for the happiest event. The shame which our soldiers feel for having been dupes to a false terror, has produced the best consequence. Every soldier thinks he has a fault which he must repair. It seems that Brunswick wishes to come to an issue. His first attempts, however, have not been very successful.

COPY OF THE DECLARATION AGREED TO BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE, A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, TO BE MADE TO THE FOREIGN POWERS RELATIVE TO THE SUSPENSION OF THE KING. WRITTEN BY M. BRISSOT.

“Although the representatives of the French people have already, and repeatedly, manifested to the foreign powers the sentiments by which they are directed, with regard to their external connexions; they think it incumbent on them to give a still more ample declaration, on occasion of the present unexpected crisis, which brings forward a new revolution, and, by the suspension of a constitutional branch of the government, appears to create some uneasiness in some of the neutral powers.

“This is not a time to recite the causes of the war, which is now drawing the blood of Europe; the articles agreed to by the coalesced powers, are public; and sufficiently testify that the courts of Vienna and Berlin, in contempt of all treaties, in contempt of the right of nations which they invoke, while they trample them under foot, are leagued together against the independence of the French Nation, and to reinstate Louis XVI. on his ancient throne. Every measure was vainly employed to prevent or dissolve this conspiracy; and it would have brought dishonour upon France, and have endangered her liberty and security, to have suffered any longer her independence to be sported with under the affection of an apparent respect for her King;

King; she declared war against the court of Vienna; or rather, she began to put herself in a situation to repel an aggression, concluded upon by treaties, and for the execution of which, there were carrying on effectual preparations.

“During this war with foreigners, who pretended to take up arms for the King of the French, the nation might reasonably expect that the King would act a decided part, and form opposition, not only by express declarations, but by such military preparations as might leave no room to doubt of his sentiments.

“These expectations of the nation have been disappointed: The King has not taken a single measure proper to convince either the French or foreign nations of his constitutional sincerity. Such acts of his as have been denominated formal, either came very late, or were equivocal, and were not stamped with that frankness and loyalty which carry conviction. The preparations he made were faint; they were slow and inadequate; the decrees which ordered them were ill executed, or not at all. Offensive war met with every obstacle, and was entered into no farther than to turn it into an intrigue, wherein the court of the Thuilleries, the generals, and the foreign powers, visibly acted in concert.

“Nor were the treasons going on at home less manifest than those concerted abroad: The King was constantly attended by men who detested the revolution, and by ministers who gave it a retrograde tendency. When his council was composed of patriots, they were soon dismissed from it. He had need of a guard devoted to anti-revolution principles: Such an one was formed, and yet that did not satisfy him, but he must also pay a salary to his quondam body guards, who were disbanded by a decree, and actually in a state of open rebellion on the frontiers. To put an end to popular associations which supported liberty; to bring the National Assembly into disrepute; to create misunderstandings between the national guards and the people; to discredit assignats, and facilitate the return of the emigrants, were so many feats to be achieved; and the King had closed with all such projects, and encouraged them with criminal perseverance. Proofs of all which have been discovered in the books of accounts of the civil list, and other authentic pieces. The money allowed to maintain the splendor of the throne was employed to crush the nation and stifle liberty; to hire assassins, and murder the very people who had raised him to that throne. Such a multiplicity of treason could not but be detected; and the representatives of the people were examining what remedy the constitution afforded, in order to prevent them for the future; and whether the King's case did not amount to that of abdication, when the people rose and prevented the decision.

“ At présent it is proved the blood which was shed in the insurrection of the 10th of August, must be laid to the account of those court-devoted chiefs who transformed the Thuilleries into a place of war; and were so dastardly perfidious as to order their soldiers to fire on the citizens of Paris and the confederates, at the very instant they and the Swiss were interchanging tokens of amity and confraternity. The friends of tyranny expected, in this conflict, to see despotism triumph; but they themselves were vanquished; and the people, now wrought up to fury, demanded the King should be divested, and even deprived of life.—Their representatives, however, judged there was a medium whereby to reconcile the wishes of the people, the spirit of the constitution, the safety of the State and that of the King: And this consisted in the measure of suspending the King from his functions, convoking the people to judge him in a convention, and yielding their places to that convention as soon as it could be assembled.

“ By the suspension the threads of collusion between the executive and the foreign powers were cut asunder. An appeal to the people is an homage paid to its sovereignty, and to the constitution: The people alone, by a new deputation, could pronounce between the King and the present legislature. If the misunderstanding, the treasons, and misfortunes of France spring from any constitutional source, the people alone could find out the evil, and apply to it a cure.

“ This vigorous measure, to which France will owe her preservation, has been applauded by all the nation: The citizens, the administrations, the armies, have almost universally adhered to it.—And yet this measure seems to have alarmed some of the neutral powers, which had continued their agents in France. One of these potentates, whose principles by France are respected, and whose alliance is greatly valued, professes a strict neutrality, and a resolution not to interfere with the internal government of France; yet expresses, at the same time, the keenest solicitude about the King's situation, and thus declares a resolution to be neutral and not be neutral in the same breath; the ambassador is accordingly recalled, under the pretext that the King is suspended.

“ Other potentates have followed the same line of conduct, without making use openly of the same language; but dictated, as is evident, by the same principles.

“ The representatives of the French people are therefore under the necessity, from the duty they owe to their constituents, and in order to perpetuate a good understanding between France and the said potentates, of hereby exposing the principles of political

political jurisprudence, in order to set before the potentates in question the errors which influence their conduct.

“ They have all of them, in reality, acknowledged the French constitution. Now, that constitution lays it down as a principle, that the people have an inalienable right, against which there lies no proscription, to change its own government when it thinks convenient. On the other hand the constitution specifies divers cases, in which the King is understood to have incurred abdication.

“ Into some such case the King is judged to have now fallen by the representatives of the French people; and they are seconded by innumerable addresses, by facts and proofs incontestable: But it not being equally evident that the present case is one of those wherein a legislature is authorised to pass sentence, the legislature remits the judgment to the nation itself, and suspends the King till the trial commences. In doing this, the legislature has made use of the power granted to it by the constitution, in the case of the King’s being absent, or, by a necessary analogy, of his being in a state of lunacy, and of all other similar cases wherein the welfare of a nation are concerned.

“ The neutral powers, therefore, cannot, without contradicting their own conduct, break off, or interrupt the connections with France, on the pretext of the King’s suspension, and the convocation of a National Convention: For those two are constitutional cases, and the constitution they have acknowledged; so that to make a rupture on account of those two measures, is to interfere with the government of France, while all such interference is at the same time disavowed.

“ By the French constitution, the King is the first public functionary, the organ of the nation in respect to foreign powers. In himself he is a mere citizen like another; he is raised above other citizens by being appointed the nation’s representative; but even in that quality, he can never be considered as above the nation. To pretend, that because he is suspended from his functions all political relations are to be interrupted with the nation, is to suppose, that he is either the superior, or the equal of the nation, or that he is the nation collected in himself. It is to suppose that foreign relations are entered into for the King, and not for the nation, a doctrine incompatible with the people’s sovereignty, and independence on foreigners. Foreign potentates ought to be informed, that the right of people and the tranquillity of Europe, do essentially stand on this basis: That each state is respectively independent, and that this independence is guaranteed to each one by all the others: The which, however, must be overturned, if any foreign power claim a right

to

to interfere with the interior changes a neighbouring people may think it convenient to adopt.

"France, long before her own revolution, had condemned one of her kings who obstructed so passionately that last Revolution to which England owes her liberty, and the House of Hanover her Crown. What right had a French king to oppose the exercise of an inalienable right in the English people to change their own government, and to alter the line of succession to their crown? And how comes it to pass that the cabinet of St. James's should at present adopt the principles which it reprobated not a century ago? If France has not a right to change her constitution, nor to suspend her executive power, we must then conclude that the English are rebels, and the House of Hanover an usurper. But assuredly, no Englishman, no well-informed man, will maintain such a doctrine; and, indeed, the French nation is far from apprehending any hostile dispositions on the side of England, the assurances of whose government are solid, and the friendship and loyalty of whose people may be firmly depended on. When the cabinet of St. James's has more calmly compared the conduct of the French with the true principles of policy, it will clearly see that the French nation has alone the right to decide, by its representatives, whether the first public functionary have incurred forfeiture, and whether the constitution is to be the exclusive mode of the government of the nation, in whose decisions on these points no earthly power has any right to interfere.

"The representatives of the French people will not spend their time in refuting the calumnies spread against them in foreign countries, nor in apologizing for that anarchy with which for four years, the nation has been reproached. But is it credible, that 25,000,000 of people can have lived four years in anarchy? That 1,000,000 of men can take arms, fly to the frontiers, and fight in support of anarchy? Where is the people, whose governors are in better understanding with the governed, whose government is more vigorously administered than in this nation, the pretended seat of anarchy?

"Let the representatives of that nation here call upon the ambassadors of foreign powers. Has not that people, said to be in anarchy, in the very height of its insurrections and conflicts, when no power could withstand its omnipotent will, constantly respected the inviolable habitations and privileges of foreign ambassadors?

"Let those who speak of anarchy visit our camps, where, in spite of the immense numbers, reign order and discipline, indefatigable, and unconquerable courage!—A people in anarchy is a people of egotists; the individuals hide themselves, and not fly

fly to battle—the discipline required for combat will not be submitted to by a people in anarchy.

“But if foreign nations mean to be convinced of the love of order now existing in France, let them attend to an instance of it that is new to the world, an instance that must convince the most reluctant, and that is, the bold, the solemn probation to which France at this moment submits herself; while a formidable coalition is threatening her with numerous armies, trained to war, well-disciplined, already at her gates, in her very territories, at such a crisis. France sees her King suspended, a new ministry formed, the people invited to rise, primary assemblies convoked, the present legislature superseded by a national convention, empowered to express the supreme will of the people to judge the constitution and the King. Does the history of any people offer an example of so sublime, so bold a measure? And did not a steady love of order pervade the realm, would not the mere mention of such a measure have long ago set every thing in an uproar? Whereas at present it unites the citizens more strongly together, stifles all dissensions, and melts down all parties into one; for there is but one party remaining at this day, ever since the retreat of that chief, whose family is the only pretending one in France. What kingdom in Europe would not have been torn by dissensions and disorders, had the smallest of the above-mentioned operations been attempted therein?

“A nation, so united as to undergo, without danger, such a probation, is as formidable to her adversaries as she will be just to all foreigners, and constant in her attachments: For all her virtues are linked together. She will therefore calmly wait till more sound reflections bring back to her the neutral Powers, who have taken the alarm at the last Revolution. Trusting in the rectitude of her intentions, the justice of her cause, the power of her arms, the bravery of her citizens, and especially their unshaken resolution to be free or perish, she will continue to live in good understanding with the neutral Powers, and to cultivate the commercial and friendly interests that connect them with her: And it is therefore hereby declared,

“That all the agents of France, actually residing with due credentials at foreign courts, are there to continue their services as long as their character and treaties are respected. France will observe those treaties with scrupulous exactness, and will therefore shew the greater ardour in pursuing, by every means, the reparation of any real injuries or affronts that may be offered to her. In doing the most impartial justice to other governments, she is entitled to demand a similar return, and will employ every means in order to obtain it.”

REFLECTIONS ON THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1688,
AND ON THAT OF FRANCE ON THE TENTH OF
AUGUST, 1792. BY M. CONDORCET.

"The Revolution of England in 1688, compared with the Revolution of France in 1792, presents, in the motives which occasioned them and the principles by which they were directed, a parallel which, notwithstanding the difference of the times, the circumstances and the state of knowledge, proves that the cause of the French is exactly the same as that of the English nation; and, indeed, of all nations, that are, or that have conceived the hope of becoming free.

"James II. was the constitutional king, like Louis XVI. It was the national will, notwithstanding the just repugnance of the friends of freedom, by which James succeeded to his brother: The fear of civil discord was superior to that of a Papist king, infatuated with those ideas of absolute authority which had been so fatal to Charles I. Actuated by the same motives, the will of the people seated Louis XVI. on the throne, in despite of the dangers to which freedom must be exposed by his regret for his former power.

"To destroy the rights of the English, James II. employed corrupt judges, and the servile complaisance of partial authorities. He had two councils; the one public, which with reserve aided his projects of usurpation; the other private, which forced him rashly to hasten the establishment of popery and tyranny.

"Louis XVI. in like manner, had two councils; the one moderate, which endeavoured to destroy freedom by the aid of the constitution; the other, more eager, prepared means to deliver up the people to the emigrants, and France to foreign armies.

"Louis XVI. had likewise sought useful allies in the courts of justice, and the directories of departments.

"James II. had protected the parliament, after having deceived it by false promises. Louis XVI. not possessing this dangerous privilege, attained the same end by corrupting the legislative body, and preventing any constant majority from being formed.

"James II. provided a fleet and an army, of which he believed himself the master. Louis XVI. had secretly formed a troop of satellites, who had sold themselves to his cause, and thought himself sure of a powerful support in the national guard and the army.

"James was secretly connected with Louis XIV. whom the English nation regarded as its most dangerous enemy. The Emperor and the King of Prussia, made war on France, in the name and for the support of Louis XVI.; and the means of defence, which the nation bestowed with prodigality, were half annihilated

lated by passing through the hands of the King and his ministers.

“ Both thought themselves certain of power sufficient to suppress freedom, and both imagined they had deceived the people; instead of which, they did but mutually convince all clear-sighted citizens of the necessity of a new revolution.

“ The two nations were not precisely in the same situation. In England the body of the people, discontented, angry, but terrified by the recent recollection of the civil wars, and benumbed by the corrupt reign of Charles II. was disposed to embrace that revolution, which they were incapable to effect. The parliament was not convoked, and the friends of liberty were without a support. Hence it was necessary to call in the Prince of Orange to their aid, who, by a singular concatenation of events, had connected his personal interest with that of the English nation.

“ William, who found no opposition on his passage from the English fleet, came at the head of a Dutch army. James was abandoned by his troops, fled, was brought back to London, and left it by order of his son-in-law, who appointed a place to which he was permitted to retire. He escaped a second time, and William did not endeavour to impede his flight.

“ In France the people, to whom freedom was a new enjoyment, and the love of equality a real passion, could not, undisturbed, see themselves threatened by plots which they could not discover, but the fearful proofs of which were incessantly before their eyes.

“ They addressed their representatives, and were heard; but a great number of these representatives, servilely attached to the letter of the constitution they had sworn to maintain, beheld with a kind of terror those measures which every day became more sensibly necessary, but which required a bolder interpretation of the constitution. The citizens, therefore, imagined themselves obliged to take the power into their own hands.

“ The King fled for an asylum to the National Assembly; yet foreign troops, preserved contrary to law, and united to the chiefs and the menials of the conspiracy, fired from the palace of the Tuilleries on the citizens, at the very moment that they were reciprocally interchanging expressions of peace and good will.

“ The palace was forced, the conspirators and their soldiers put to flight, and there then only remained citizens who had but one opinion, and the representatives of those citizens, whose authority was respected, and among whom public confidence, which preceding events had but suspended, might once again find a central point of action.

“ Here every circumstance gives the advantage to the French nation.

"A considerable portion of the people, combining by spontaneous impulse, and addressing themselves to a legal assembly of the whole, depart much less from the common order of law than a particular association of citizens, addressing themselves to a foreign prince; and the influence of the former porportion of the people, armed in their own defence, was much less dangerous to freedom than the presence of a foreign army, devoted to the will of a single chief.

"It was as absolutely and really impossible for the King of the French to resume his functions, as it was for the King of England, after his flight; and the two nations equally found themselves destitute of all government.

"In England the former parliament was not assembled, and could not be convoked but by the King; and as James had dissolved it, and had afterwards retracted the order he had given for its meeting once more, there consequently did not exist any representative power.

"But the English parliament was composed of two houses, the one of which was hereditary, and therefore always subsisting; thus such of the members of the Upper House as happened to be then in London, believed themselves invested, by necessity, with the right of assuming the whole power to themselves. They assembled and bestowed the government on the Prince of Orange. William accepted the gift, but knew that the people of England had some right to be consulted, and that the hereditary senators were but the representatives of themselves. His first care, therefore, was to convoke those members of the former House of Commons, who were then in London, and with them a part of the corporation of the city. This irregular and incomplete representation confirmed the plan of the Peers, and the government was committed to the Prince, one part of which, according to the common law, was the right of convoking parliaments. Accordingly, he hastened to call a parliament, under the name of a convention. This was the name given to the parliament, which recalled Charles II. the term parliament being rigorously confined to those assemblies, which are convoked in the name of the King. But the convention of 1688, like that of 1660, could not but have precisely the same organization as the parliaments, and like them be divided into two houses, the mutual agreement of which was necessary to express the will of the nation. Thus the will of about 200 could assume the right of expressing the will of the whole people; and if there be any who dare still affirm, that an institution like this is not an attack on the rights of natural equality, and such as no power can legalize, they must at least confess it is absurd and tyrannical, when it is necessary to decide on those fundamental questions,

questions, which the laws have not foreseen, and on which the national will is not really consulted, unless it be consulted with the most perfect equality.

"In the revolution of the 10th of August, the existence of an assembly of representatives of the people, and the principles which are at present acknowledged by all France, have prevented these irregularities.

"It is not to a foreign prince, followed by an army, and personally interested in the decisions called for, that the executive power has been confided; but to citizens openly elected by the representatives of the people.

"By calling a national convention, far from prescribing forms contrary to natural equality, the forms established for assembling the representatives of the people have been observed; which forms preserve this inequality in its utmost extent. Neither has the power of dictating been assumed, but a simple invitation only was issued; so that the natural and primitive rights of man have been scrupulously respected. Hence the French convention is stamped with a character of legitimacy, which the English convention could not possess; influenced, as it was, by an inequality, (established I grant by former laws,) and by a prince at the head of an army, personally interested in the cause on which they were to decide.

"Two opinions divide the friends of freedom. Some, but no great number, acknowledge the sacred unalienable and imprescriptible sovereignty of the people; though it has not yet been rigorously analyzed, its powers fully exposed, nor its consequences sufficiently developed.

"According to this opinion, all authority is derived from the people, and may be legally reclaimed and again established under new forms. Kings, like other magistrates, are but the servants of the people they govern.

"The contrary opinion asserts, that an original contract exists between king and people, which is equally binding on both, and which the people cannot dissolve, unless it be first violated by the king.

"In those times when that was decided by authority which ought to have been submitted to reason, when facts and examples were substituted to principles, when claims were founded on titles and not in truth, this latter opinion must have been the most general. History records no people who really gave themselves a constitution: But it relates numerous conventions, made between the representatives of a nation, or the nation itself and the government, which by chance had been previously established.

" Thus the idea of an original contract between the nation and the King prevailed, in the convention of 1688, James II. having violated this contract, was said to have abdicated, or renounced his *right*; and the national convention had a right to appoint a successor.

" But this opinion of an original contract presents great difficulties in the application of it. If this contract were binding through all generations, could the personal forfeiture of a King dissolve the obligations contracted by the nation as well to his whole family, as to himself? Could there be so much as a right to depose the guilty individual, there being an obligation to follow the established order of succession? Did this right extend so far as to choose another chief; or to establish a new order of succession? In fine, could there be so much as another form of government established?

" It appears, in examining these questions, that the English convention rather confined itself to the necessities of the moment than to those principles of public right which might have resolved their difficulties.

" The majority were inclined to preserve the fixed order of succession; but this order called the son of James II. (then in the cradle and carried into France, where he was to be educated in the popish religion, and the maxims of despotism) to the throne. It had even been rumoured among the people that this was a supposed child; but the two houses of convention felt how dangerous and how little worthy of them it was, to found a new government on the decision of a question in which, by the very nature of the facts, proof would necessarily be uncertain, and the incidents ridiculous.

" Resort, therefore, was had to the expedient of excluding all popish princes from the throne; and it must be confessed, that the application of this law, to a child of 18 months old, had something in it which was irregular. Nor was this all. Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange, was to be the substitute of her brother, according to the order of succession: But the Prince of Orange refused to reign in the name of his wife, and would not consent to hold his power of her, nor expose himself to the possibility of descending from the throne, should she be the first to die. His army, his personal talents, and his political influence were all wanted, to defend freedom against the numerous partizans of James, and to subject Ireland, in which the party of the dethroned King prevailed. Thus it was necessary to violate the order of succession, to declare William King, and to attribute the authority to him alone, that they might not resume this order of succession, till after his death.

" Hence

"Hence the convention assumed the right of adding a new condition to the original contract, as well as that of sacrificing hereditary claims to national interest.

"Applying to the French convention, which is soon to be assembled, not the principles of public right, at present adopted by all enlightened men, not corrupted by the gold of Kings, but those of the English convention, we shall find that we cannot, without contradicting these same principles, but grant to our convention the legitimate power of doing all which it shall think necessary for the public good.

"Thus, for example, the English ministry can neither regard this convention as illegal, nor dispute its power of reforming that, which in the constitutional act shall appear to it to be prejudicial to liberty, without, at the same time, attacking the legality of the convention of 1689, and that of the resolutions, which emanated from that convention. The ministers, who should advise such a conduct, must, by such advice, confess, 1. That the House of Hanover has usurped the throne of England, and that it appertains to the King of Sardinia; 2. That the English nation has no right to make any change in its constitution, except by the will of the King; 3. That the King may violate the constitution with impunity, and that the nation has no legal means either of opposition or restriction; which opinion no minister could pursue in act, without rendering himself guilty of high treason; nay, they must conclude, that they are certain of having nothing to fear for the preservation of the throne in the House of Hanover, and they must intend to establish it as law, that this house possesses the crown by pure hereditary right; that it has not received it from the people; that all the claims and pretensions of the former Kings of England to arbitrary power have been transmitted to the reigning family; and they must further mean to support the opinions of the divine right of Kings, of passive obedience, of the dispensing power, &c. and, in a word, all those maxims destructive to freedom, which were formerly held by the Stuarts, and practised by the Tudors.

"In like manner, it was in consequence of this opinion of an original contract, that the United Provinces, and the Swiss Cantons, shook off the yoke of their ancient lords, who were hereditary chiefs, and at the head of the executive power. It was the violation of such contracts, subscribed to by these lords, which was the motive for deposing them; and neither the Dutch nor the Swiss can refuse to acknowledge the legality and justice of the conduct of the French nation, without declaring that they will submit themselves to the heirs of the house of Austria.

“Those men, therefore, who, like the French, love true liberty, who know that it cannot exist without an entire equality, and who acknowledge the sovereignty of the people, are not the only persons who ought to approve the revolution of the 10th of August. All who do not acknowledge an inherent power in kings and princes, independent of the people, of which they cannot be deprived, either by their usurpations or their crimes; that is to say, all those who would not be slaves, must equally approve the present revolution of France and the revolution of England. Both parties, those who would preserve all, and those who wish not to lose all their rights, such as they find them preserved by the laws of their country, must mutually approve the French revolution.

“The creatures of tyrants have dared to reproach the French with the crime of calling on all nations to the enjoyment of the first rights of man, liberty and equality, which are likewise the greatest good;—they accuse them of wishing to subvert the world, because they wish the voice of reason to be heard, and of universally kindling the flames of discord, because they are desirous that the torch of truth should begin to blaze.

“At present this respectable zeal, which is so vilely calumniated, is not the question. We do not ask foreign nations to rise to those principles, in support of which we have sworn to meet death; we only request them not to abandon such as men, worthy of the name, have professed these 400 years, in times even of ignorance and superstition; we intreat them not to descend below the standard of the 14th century, and not to whet that tyrant sword which, at present directed against us, will soon return to pierce the hand that drew it.

“We tell the English, the Dutch, the Swifs, the Swedes, the inhabitants of the Imperial cities, and those subjects of the princes of the Empire, who have still preserved some franchises, as well as the various nobles who reside in the States of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia, that our cause is theirs, and that they cannot support the maxims of the Emperor and the King of Prussia without abjuring all their rights, and consecrating themselves to servitude.

“There are two species of free constitutions in existence, or at least having the forms of freedom.—The first, like those of a part of the United States of America, have one single principle of decision, by which all questions on which judgment must be passed, and all affairs in which public safety requires an active part should be taken, are necessarily brought to a conclusion.

“The other, on the contrary, like the English constitution, has a double or a triple principle of decision. According to this,

this, nothing less than the agreement of all the powers to which the right of deciding is confided, can produce a final determination, and the want of agreement between these independent powers, can stop the activity of the social system.

“If constitutions like this have been the result of the ancient customs of a nation—if at the moment in which they have assumed a regular form, those to whom they gave a right of acting in contradiction to the will of the people, have had the prudence never to practice this right; if, instead of an unity of principle established by law, their policy has substituted another, (as in England for example,) the maxim of never resisting the two Houses of Parliament, and of never acting in contradiction even of one of them, except on extraordinary occasions, when the majority is weak and appears not to accord with the national will, then, indeed, such constitutions may continue for a long time without exciting troubles.

“But if, on the contrary, the habit of disguising an essential and radical vice should not prevail; if in a first attempt those who exercised a negative right over the representatives of the people, have abused that right; if the nation has been informed of the inconveniences and dangers resulting from this combination of independent powers, then such a constitution cannot but be fatal to the tranquillity and the freedom of the citizens: Then unity of principle becomes an essential condition of the social system, and the nation would be exposed to proceed from revolution to revolution, till it should arrive at the necessary simplicity; because it could no longer rest satisfied with possessing it in fact, as at present in England; for it could suppose itself secure, unless the principle were established by law.

“Thus the unfortunate attempt made in France, to form a constitution with a double principle, has rendered its continuance impossible. This enlightened men foretold, but their counsels were rejected. The person to whom the dangerous right of opposition was entrusted, as might have been foreseen, beheld in this right the means only of suspending the activity of the two powers, of betraying them with impunity, and by the aid of the constitution of destroying freedom.

“From this time, therefore, foreign powers may contemplate France as directed to the future by one united will; and that, in her external connections, she can have no other motive for action, but that of safety and prosperity. All States, whatever their government, from the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, to the Republics of Basle and Zurich, from the Dukes of Saxony and Wirtemberg, to the cities of Hamburg or of Franckfort, ought to consider France as the only barrier, over the whole continent, which can be opposed to the coalition of great monarchies,

narchies, and the sole guarantee of the independence of inferior powers.

“ Mean time all ideas of a faction apart from the nation itself, of a will of the people of Paris distinct from that of the departments, all the chimeras credited by the court of the Thuilleries, and of intriguing partisans, who call themselves constitutional, all the fables, under the guidance of which Louis XVI. conducted his double conspiracy, no longer can deceive any man; and Europe cannot but be convinced, that Russia and Austria alone have an interest in troubling France; that the King of Prussia is the dupe of that ambition with which they have inspired him, and that his safety, like that of the other independent States of Europe, is connected with the preservation of the power of France, which cannot be destroyed without dragging after it in its fall the sovereignty and freedom of all other nations.

“ Such is the point of view in which the revolution of the 10th of August cannot fail to be seen by men capable of reflection, whatever may be their country and their principles:

“ Whoever wish not to pass under the yoke of Catharine, Francis, or William, all who hope to preserve their property, liberty, and some little honour, independent of their gracious will and pleasure, ought to combine with the French nation, and universally to unite in opposition to that vile swarm of marauders, who, under the name of French emigrants, have spread falsehood and corruption through foreign countries. What! can the heroes who have served under Frederic the Great, Daun, and Laudun, descend to be the vile instruments of Calonne, Breteuil, and Bouille, alternately fattened by the blood streaming from their negroes and the intrigues of mistresses and ministers, the profits of which they partook?

“ Will the Prussian nation persist in making war on the French, who considered an alliance with Prussia as a means of escaping the snares laid by the court of Louis XVI.? A war made in favour of that very court which refused this alliance, and sacrificed the interest of France and the safety of Prussia to the ambition of the house of Austria? How can the European powers, who have acknowledged the Prince of Orange as the substitute of James II. disapprove the elective council that has been substituted to the King of the French? Why cannot the French nation act relatively to Louis XVI. as the United Provinces of America have acted with respect to George III.

“ Let us suppose that the French will form a constitution founded on pure equality; that this constitution, proposed by a national convention in conformity to the will of the people, should be fully adopted by the nation; that no hereditary rights,

rights, no personal inviolability, no predominating power, dangerous to liberty, fully this constitution, nor oblige it to invent a counterpoise, an opposition of power to power, destructive of simplicity and the operations of government; that the expression of the National Convention will become one; that no resistance can impede it; that the people themselves appoint their own representatives, and that sage precautions prevent any inconveniences which might arise from these two last institutions; will the powers of Europe then refuse to acknowledge us as acting for the nation, because we shall have rigorously followed the immutable principles of natural right? If so, they must avow, by their conduct, that the principles which are true in America, are false in Europe; and that the same maxim is true or false, criminal or virtuous, according as their insidious policy requires."

CLOSE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

FRIDAY, September 21, 1792.

M. Francois de Neufchateau rose and said, "We are just going to be informed that the National Convention is constituted; I move, therefore, that after having closed our *propos-verbaux*, we shall repair to the hall of the Thuilleries, where it is sitting, in order that we may serve it to-day as a guard."

This proposal was unanimously adopted.

M. Poitevin—"By the 14th article of the act of the legislative body respecting the formation of the National Convention, you have decreed that such electors as may be obliged to remove to a distance from their homes shall receive twenty sous per league, and three livres a day during the time of residence. I move that the assembly will pass a like decree in favour of those electors who last year named the members of the legislative body. The same reasons may be urged in their behalf; there ought not to be two weights and two measures. The electors of 1789 were indemnified; those of 1790 were indemnified; and those of 1792 are going to be indemnified. Would it be just, then, not to indemnify those of 1791? Under the reign of equality we ought not to establish a difference between citizens who enjoy the same rights."

M. Poitevin's proposition was rejected by calling for the previous question.

The President now acquainted the members that 12 commissioners requested admission, in order to inform the assembly that the National Convention was constituted. [*Applauses.*]

When the commissioners entered the hall, the applauses were renewed,

renewed, and continued for some time. After these testimonies of approbation had subsided,

M. Gregoire, Bishop of Blois, said, "Citizens, the National Convention is constituted. We are deputed by it to inform you, that it is going to repair hither, in order to commence its sittings." [*Repeated and loud applauses.*]

The President.—"The enthusiasm inspired by your presence, is a proof of the impatience with which the legislative assembly waited for you. We are going to wait upon the Convention to assure it of our profound respect and of our submission to its decrees."

The President after this short address said, "The legislative assembly declares, that its sittings are terminated." The whole assembly upon this withdrew, in order to repair to the National Convention.

"Thus ended," says M. Brissot, "after a year's existence, that stormy legislature, under which the public spirit made such a rapid progress, and the French nation marched with giant strides towards a republic. It will be judged differently according to the diversity of passions, interests, and opinions. Royalty will consider it as an assembly of men, constant enemies to its idol, and who since their first sitting to the moment of their separation have tacitly undermined the throne which they seemed to respect with constitutional attention. Anarchy will represent it as a collection of timid or corrupted deputies, who sacrificed the people to the court, and liberty to the constitution. Pure, but enlightened patriotism, which weighs neither circumstances nor characters, will consider it as a wavering assembly destitute of principles;—an assembly which has in turns attacked the court and servilely submitted to it; shaken the constitution and endeavoured to maintain it; and sometimes favoured, and sometimes checked, the progress of the public spirit. But the patriot philosopher, the true republican who appreciates efforts according to circumstances, and judges effects according to the means employed to produce them, will compare what the National Assembly has done, with what it might have done, and without palliating its faults, or veiling its errors, will declare, that it has deserved well of its country, because if it had need of a second revolution to overthrow a treacherous court, it was it that excited, fomented, and brought to maturity that revolution.

"In short, when posterity shall review the proceedings of this assembly, it will behold, not that it has overturned a constitutional church, built on the ruins of national worship; that it has established divorce; that it has destroyed the odious distinction which prevailed between the white man and his brown, or
black

black fellow-citizen; that it ordered the property of the emigrants to be sold in small lots, and commons to be divided; that it pulled down the aristocratic barrier between Frenchman and Frenchman, by the title of active citizen; that it has sworn to hate and combat kings and royalty; that it declared with courage, and supported with firmness, war against the house of Austria*, the cruel enemy of the liberty of Europe, and the scourge of mankind; and, lastly, that, hard pressed between despotism attempting to recover its strength, and anarchy which wished to succeed, it has restored entire, and even considerably augmented the deposit of the national liberty."

The hall in which the National Assembly had held their deliberations was left empty. It was then exactly noon. The persons who had a few minutes before formed the legislative power, but who were then only citizens, entered, in a body, the hall of the palace of the Thuilleries, occupied by the National Convention. After the applause, with which they were received, had ceased, M. François de Neufchateau spoke thus:

"Representatives of the nation, the legislative assembly has ceased from its functions: The late members of it hasten to be the first in giving to all the empire, an example of submission to the laws which you may decree. They congratulate themselves upon depositing in your hands the reins of government. They have resolved, that their first act, as simple citizens, shall be that of serving as a guard to the National Convention, and of offering them the homage of their respect, in order to give to all the French an example of bowing before the majesty of the people, whom you represent.

"We congratulate ourselves, that, upon our voice, all the primary assemblies adhered to the invitation which we gave them. By electing you, that have consecrated the extraordinary measures, which the safety of 24,000,000 may require, against the perfidy of one man. The motives of division ought to cease. The entire nation is represented, and you are about to establish a constitution upon the basis of liberty

* Besides the inestimable advantages which this war, the justest and most sacred of any ever undertaken, will procure to France and Europe, by securing the liberty of the former, and hastening that of the latter, there is a powerful consideration, which, above all, directed the partisans of the declaration of war, and which was not felt by the partisans of the opposite system. To convince all Frenchmen of the perfidy of the court it was necessary to put it to a great trial, and this trial was the war against the house of Austria. France has been saved only by exposing the treachery of the court. Without a war, neither La Fayette, nor Louis, would have been completely unmasked; without a war, the revolution of the 8th of August would not have taken place; without a war, France would not have been a republic, and it is even doubtful whether it would have existed twenty years.

and equality. The end of your efforts will be, to give to the French, liberty, laws, and peace; liberty, without which the French can no longer live; laws, the firmest foundation of liberty; peace, the only end of war.

“ Liberty, laws, and peace; these three words were written by the Greeks upon the gate of the temple of Delphos; you will impress them upon the entire soil of France. You will maintain especially between all the parts of the empire the unity of the government, of which you are the centre and the preservative bond, and thus will you accumulate the benedictions of your fellow-citizens.”

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E R R A T A.

- In page 108, number of voters at Tiverton, is 24.
 ——— 109, under Maidstone, for Aylesbury, read Aylesford.
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DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

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Divide the Volumes at Signature T t t 2, page 515, 516; which Leaf is to be cancelled: In its place put this Half-Sheet, which finishes the 1st Volume.—The Contents must stand immediately after p. iv. of the Address to the Public, at the beginning of the Volume.

VOL. II.

The Half-Sheet containing the Title, Contents, and two first pages of the Volume, are to be placed immediately before p. 517.



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